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EFFICIENT DEMOCRACY







ROBERT M. HARTLEY : EFFICIENT EDUCATOR

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EFFICIENT DEMOCRACY

**BY
WILLIAM H. ALLEN**

**General Agent, New York Association
for Improving the Condition
of the Poor**

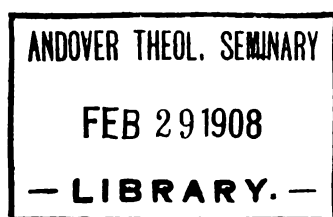
**Secretary, Committee on Physical
Welfare of School Children**



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DEDICATED TO
Emily C. Williamson
EFFICIENT FRIEND
OF CHILDREN





PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to stimulate desire on the part of the reader to apply efficiency tests to himself as governor and governed.

To be efficient is more difficult than to be good. The average citizen honestly in favour of what he calls good government does not yet understand that there are an intelligence and an efficiency as far beyond the reach of inefficient goodness as is business efficiency beyond the reach of mere good intention.

To test the goodness of a citizen, trustee or public official requires more than human judgment. Efficiency can and should be tested by those who benefit when it is present and suffer when it is lacking. Efficiency fosters goodness as time clock and cash register foster habits of punctuality and honesty. The goodness that has lasting value to one's fellow-man will be greatly increased and more widely distributed if efficiency tests are applied to all persons and all agencies that are trying to make to-morrow better than to-day.

Goodness tests waste character and energy by asking or allowing goodness to undertake work for which it is not prepared; efficiency tests, by adjusting burden to capacity, utilize character to its utmost.

The particular kind of intelligence needed by democracy is intelligence as to government and not intelligence as to ethics, fiction, law and business. A man may be a walking dictionary, living encyclopedia, bacteria wizard, or virtue personified, and yet not intelligent as to government. Given 100 so-called best citizens in a church parlour and 100 frequenters of a Bowery saloon, and it would be a rash man who would feel sure that the average intelligence as to government, its needs, its justice, its methods was higher in the parlour than in the saloon. In nearly all lines of business, in housekeeping, in certain branches of hospital, school and church work, it is already realised that good service means efficient service, that an honest man who is inefficient can do more to defeat the purpose for which he is employed than a dishonest man compelled by intelligent supervision to render efficient service. So far as this principle is accepted, efficiency tests are substituted for goodness tests. Where standards of administration are unsatisfactory; where taxes are too high and buy too little; where schools waste taxpayers' money, pupils' time and democracy's opportunity; where results of religious work are disappointing; where hospitals regularly incur deficits; where crime is neither controlled nor understood; where civic and educational leaders make futile protests against political corruption; where good intention is permitted to cover a multitude of administrative sins; where charity injures those



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it aims to help;—efficiency tests will be found lacking.

Fortunately the ingredients of the efficiency test are simple: desire to know, unit of inquiry, count, comparison, subtraction, percentage, classification, summary. This book aims to awaken desire to know the essential facts regarding the administration of business, health, school, church, juvenile court, hospital, charity, bequest and government. It is addressed not so much to experts in accountancy, finance or political science as to that larger body of laymen who believe in representative government and are willing themselves to make sacrifices that their own intention and opinion shall be effective and democracy efficient.

Attention is especially invited to the Brief for the Establishment of an Institute for Municipal Research, Chapter 14. Millions of dollars are spent annually in this country to teach the ideals of government and the theories that shape its machinery. Universities and colleges and even high schools are introducing courses in political science, economics and sociology; yet universities, colleges and high schools are ignoring the vast mines of information contained in the current experience of American cities and states. There is at present no mechanism for learning and publishing the facts of social life and public administration. Without these facts upon which to base judgment, the public cannot intelligently direct and control the administration of town-



ship, county, city, state or nation. Without intelligent control by the public, no efficient, progressive, triumphant democracy is possible.

Of the chapters included in this volume, The Goodness Fallacy appeared in *World's Work* (November, 1906); Hospital Efficiency in the *Journal of Sociology* (November, 1906); Efficiency in Making Bequests in the *Atlantic Monthly* (March, 1907); Statistics Ostracised, in Modified Form, in the *Outlook* (February, 1906).

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EFFICIENT DEMOCRACY

I

The Goodness Fallacy

Good men will administer well. This is the Goodness Fallacy that hampers civic progress and weakens church, charity, hospital and school. Like many other fallacies, it is attractive because of its promise and its flattery. *Goodness, good, upright, conscientious, honourable* and *sterling* are among the words that justify Talleyrand's definition of language,—“A means of concealing thought.” We attribute to a speaker such noble qualities as he extols. To protest the need for good men as officers and directors is one way of advertising the quality of those who demand goodness. To uproot the Goodness Fallacy, therefore, is to deprive ourselves of one of the most soothing narcotic influences; namely, solemn auto-compliments “we know ain't so.” Convinced that Good Government, in whatever field, will never be possible so long as goodness is to be the sole or even the chief qualification of public officers, it is proposed to substitute an Efficiency Test for the Goodness Test.

Goodness is a false criterion for three reasons: First,

we cannot agree upon its meaning. Second, it does not prevent the continuance of bad government. Third, other tests have been proved to be more trustworthy.

To apply consistently the goodness test in our choice of officer is impracticable, because we are by no means of one mind in our definition of goodness. To some of us, working and playing golf on Sunday are evils worse even than smoking cigarettes, playing cards, or using profane language. Hundreds of thousands of good people cannot believe in the goodness of others who refuse to subscribe to some particular orthodoxy or to a program of Sunday closing, prohibition or woman's suffrage. The incarnation of evil to the avenue, the ward healer, is the incarnation of good to the alley. One man deems ingratitude, selfishness or evasiveness incompatible with goodness; while his neighbour overlooks these weaknesses if the candidate attends church regularly, supports his poor relations, organises enjoyable picnics, erects handsome monuments or gives liberally and frequently to charity. In other words, the Good Man we talk about so much does not exist; or rather he exists in so many shapes and types that the composite can never be found. In defining the goodness qualification we never come nearer to agreement than this: You and I are seeking a type of public man that you, the audience, and I, the speaker, want each other to think we are.

Does the goodness test fail to stop bad government?

Goodness Often Supports Wrong 8

Serious as is the indictment, history justifies it. Most revolting crimes and most stupendous blunders have been committed from good motives, for example, the Spanish Inquisition, the massacres of Dronghela and St. Bartholomew, the expulsion of the Moors, Huguenots and Acadians, the murderous proselytising of Mohammed, the crucifixion of Christ. Religious zealotry too often ends in hate of man. To protect the goodness of Athens Socrates was made to drink hemlock. Epoch-making fallacies have always found earnest supporters among good men acting from good motives. The Hindoo mother is good when she throws her baby into the Ganges; the western crusader is good when she takes law into her own hands and smashes saloon property; excess of patriotism led the Continental Congress to mistrust Washington; the good men of the South turned whitecap when the good men of the North forced an alleged vicious reconstruction policy upon them. In every contest our country has known goodness has supported wrong as well as right. Loyalism in 1776 was the monopoly of good men, the kind we now want to enter politics; Patrick Henry and James Monroe did their best to defeat the new constitution in 1787; the Knownothings were pre-eminently good; the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches divided over slavery; Horace Greeley was Lincoln's harshest critic. There are at this very time good men so bigoted as to believe that all who oppose trusts, protective tariff, high license, are good

while all who defend them are bad. Thus it happens that knowing a man to be good, upright, honourable, christian, furnishes no basis whatever for determining whether he believes in free silver or gold only, whether he is protestant, catholic, or Jew, republican or democrat, socialist or reactionary, total abstainer or moderate drinker, a help or a hindrance to his fellow-man. Still less does it of itself indicate his suitability for position of mayor, auditor, alderman, pastor, hospital trustee or school superintendent.

The goodness test wherever tried has been found wanting. History does not record the birth of the fallacy. It is unknown among primitive people. A merely good man had a poor chance among American Indians or Macedonians. The Norse must be able to fight, the Spartan must endure hardship and pain without flinching. For one brief period, "while Mediæval Europe was sleeping off its debauch," the ideal of negative goodness was preached in spite of Christ's demand for effective goodness. The stormy reaction against self-centred religion and death-dealing filth drove asceticism into the background and put a premium on definite, objective, countable evidences of goodness in things done. The Quaker with his love of peace and friendliness threatened for a time to revive inactive goodness, but even Quaker approval demanded thrift, industry, business efficiency, and a good memory as to terms of contract. Neither the mediæval despot nor his benevolent successor of the

eighteenth century selected marshals and fiscal ministers because of unimpeachable goodness. Democracy has never in practice been willing to honour and obey mere goodness, which seems to be a fetish reserved for latter-day critics of representative government, and for every-day use in religious, charitable and educational administration.

Outside of reform politics and so-called uplift work, we are primarily interested in goodness only as it may have a bearing on efficiency. Even in friendship congeniality is not conterminous with goodness; we ask much more of a companion for an evening or for life. Our photographer must know how to take pictures; our dressmaker or tailor must know how to fit clothes; we do not forgive a blundering dentist because he is of irreproachable character. We measure the caterer's viands, not his morals. A gardener must grow beautiful plants, not good intentions. We buy a paper for its news and editorials, not for the goodness of its editor. Men of affairs do not advertise for "good girl stenographers." Good boys do not always win honours in school or promote school progress. Whether or not a builder has good motives is less important than whether he follows his contract. It has been found cheaper to pension "good" servants than to employ them. Shopping would be impracticable if the shopper were to seek good owners instead of good values. Goodness alone never qualified a woman to play Magda or Lady Macbeth; how many are too

good to tip a customs inspector? A good man's club organised to disclose and prevent corrupt city government recently discovered that instead of having a surplus of \$2,800, as advertised, it was over \$40,000 behind. Politics has given numerous illustrations of unspotted leaders dooming good causes to failure because of their inefficiency. Goodness is not chosen to general an army in time of war; it cannot carry the heavier burden in time of peace. Stevenson was speaking of an inefficient good prince when he said,—“I would rather see a man capably doing evil than blundering about good.”

The modern Diogenes does not go about with a lantern seeking goodness; he looks for efficiency and expects goodness to be thrown in. He imposes a merit test and that test is based upon visible, countable results. He looks at the service rather than the server, and finds the cash register worth a dozen letters about goodness. In certain positions, to be sure, fidelity and goodness have a direct bearing upon service rendered, but most fiduciary relations require not only faithfulness and secretiveness, but ability to remember and to use the knowledge entrusted. A flagman's honesty does not atone for his inability to keep awake. Goodness in business matters has come to imply performance that is satisfactory, which in the world of business means efficiency. As among primitive men, inefficiency is bad, hurtful to one's fellow-man, a drag that is inimical, if not immoral. No man is good

Being Good For Something 7

unless good for something. Goodness is subjective and beyond scrutiny. Goodness for something is objective, and may be counted, weighed, tested.

In church work the goodness fallacy still persists, but is rapidly losing ground. The preacher must not only be good, but must know how to preach satisfactorily and to arouse general interest in parish work. To quote a celebrated divine, "After many painful lessons we have come to learn that when the stars spell G. P. C., they are quite as apt to mean Go Plough Corn as Go Preach Christ." The complex civilisation of our day, the possibilities and requirements imposed upon the pulpit by intelligence in the pew and by outside social conditions, have rendered it very difficult to procure effective pastor and efficient preacher in one man. Many churches are still compelled to compromise and to tolerate a poor preacher because of his unusual civic or parish leadership, or to overlook poor parish work because of effective preaching. But in very few parishes is a pastor now retained because of goodness only, even rural districts and the more ignorant city congregation, immigrant or negro, generally demanding more than goodness in their pastor. Ability to sing is beginning to be accepted as an indispensable qualification for the choir. Goody-goody books circulate little farther than water runs up hill. In selecting Sunday-school teachers, however, district visitors, city missionaries and committeemen, goodness and desire to do good are still extolled and

permitted to hamper church progress,—against the law of attendance and interest, which, unknown to teachers and deaconesses, is effecting a revolution and a transition to the efficiency measure. For the foreign field medical missionaries of approved training are preferred, while all must first pass physical, educational and personality tests. Theological seminaries with lengthening courses, rigid examinations by men who apply the test of probable results, teachers' classes, deaconesses' training schools,—everywhere the unmistakable repudiation of the goodness test.

Not long since charity work was relegated to good souls, as was nursing. Superannuated preachers or Sunday-school teachers, some recently widowed church-member, high-minded young women or young men of "exceptional character," "sterling worth" and "good habits," were charged with the responsibility of redeeming the sinful or unfortunate suffering poor. We have now pretty generally gone over to the point of view that training, fitness, capacity to perform, are indispensable and by no means coexistent with desire to do or with mere goodness. To make this conviction more general three different schools of philanthropy have been recently organised in New York, Chicago and Boston. Even volunteer workers, it is now maintained, must be trained and their work supervised. Yet in many offices where clerks, stenographers, relief visitors, are chosen because of some efficiency test, executive officers and directors represent a survival of

the goodness fallacy. It is still too generally assumed that good men may direct efficient and detect inefficient employees,—bankers and lawyers thus applying to themselves as trustees a test that they have found next to worthless when applied to their own employees and business associates.

Similarly in the world of hospitals the goodness fallacy survives in the choice of managers, in fewer instances in the selection of matrons and superintendents. For reasons that are obvious experience has substituted efficiency for goodness as a test of physician, nurse, and charwoman; there is a growing tendency to apply the efficiency test to the bookkeeper and steward. But as to the managers themselves, the idea is cherished that a hospital will be run satisfactorily if its managers are “best citizens,” “eminent” and of “undoubted worth.”

In schools, too, as a rule, goodness has given way to efficiency as the avowed test for teacher and janitor, but not for school trustee. Neither the last named nor those who select him realise as yet that there is just as definite a measure of a trustee's fitness to direct as of a teacher's fitness to teach. Goodness has not in the past prevented egregious waste and error in school management. Nor has it analysed school experience so as to prevent the neglect of needy children, the ruthless waste of child life and the continuance of errors for decade after decade. The school text-book trade has been promoted in country as well

as city by methods that in deception, favouritism, shamelessness, vaunted altruism and number contaminated surpass the possibilities in any business not supervised by goodness.

Different types of charitable organisation have paid heavy penalties for overestimating goodness. A classical example is furnished by the Lyman School for Boys. Year after year its directors, all praiseworthy altruists of the "Massachusetts type," lauded in general terms the wonderful character-building influence of this school. A chart was prepared for the Chicago Exposition to portray graphically this influence. But to the chagrin of all, the chart when completed showed that a distressingly large percentage of the boys were serving second and third sentences at various penal institutions, while a painfully small percentage could be referred to with pride. The directors believed their chart and devised for future guidance a new test, namely, results counted, efficiency.

At first thought politics may seem not to have felt the blighting influence of the goodness fallacy. In reality it is precisely in politics,—applied citizenship—that the evil results of this fallacy are most serious. The reader will doubtless remember the anguish experienced when he first heard the statement,—*"Democracy is still on trial."* To the American, drilled during school days in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, it is a cruel shock to hear the theory or the fact of representative government challenged.



GOVERNOR CHARLES E. HUGHES

whose messages, speeches and letters are characterized by frequent use of "efficient" and "efficiency."



But as repeated evidences of trust abused dull our sensibilities, confidence and reverence give way to doubt and thinly disguised contempt. We are fortunate if cynicism does not lead beyond extenuation to direct or indirect participation in corrupt gain. Not less dangerous is the attitude expressed by a religious journal,—“If such corruption must exist, it should not be published.” To some it is a consoling thought that Rome was not built in a day and that our national heroes have each and all found it necessary at times to overlook trifling aberrations from the strict path of rectitude in the interest of larger harmonies; there is, therefore, ample time to mend slowly. The rank and file, however, live on reading about bribes, about sacred pledges broken, about ruthless violence at the polls or in the market place,—sluggishly resentful, yet convinced withal, that in matters of government peculiar codes obtain which condone if they do not glorify, the defeat of representative government and the success of evil.

At first glance there is hope in the far-reaching remedies suggested: universal education, restriction of immigration, referendum, manual training, proper home surroundings, opportunity for child play, wholesome recreation, civil service reform, woman suffrage, municipal ownership, Christian spirit, prohibition of the liquor traffic, doing good, electing good men to office, etc. But important as each remedy may be, we have abundant testimony that none is adequate

of itself. Many of our worst corruptionists had in their youth unusual opportunity. Franchise stealing has gone on unabated during the administration of good men. The rural American sells his vote and his honour quite as readily and at times more cheaply than the foreigner herded in the city tenement. Civil service perpetuates incompetence, which in turn makes possible special favour and the misuse of funds. Homes where education, wholesome recreation, opportunity for play, are part of the standard of living turn out men who vote consistently for corrupt political machines. The boldest plunder of our day was in a city where municipal ownership exists and where municipal operation failed. As for Christian spirit, some other test is needed than communion with a religious body, for do not all of our chief boodlers and abettors of political wrong support some creed and contribute to some church? Growing distrust of panaceas is part of the general discouragement, which in its extreme manifestation denies all curative and preventive medicine for fear of entertaining quacks. We sit back in our study or at our business desk and relieve our souls of responsibility by reflecting that publicity will cure in time.

While believing unqualifiedly in the right sort of publicity, I know of no cure-all so futile and misleading as the publicity that reveals theft and dishonour and immorality without properly locating and explaining the disease whose surface signs make

The Key to Efficient Goodness 13

scandal for magazine and newspaper. If the truly religious are to impress Christian standards upon government, if the educated are to give the benefit of their "enriched personality" to government, if the various remedies for political corruption hitherto offered are to be tested fairly, there must be means of estimating closely the conditions which make for corruption, injustice, ignorance, misery and ineffective public opinion. There is one key—Statistical Method—which offers to trusteeship what the block signal gives to the train despatcher, a prompt record of work accomplished and of needs disclosed.



II

Statistics Ostracised

To retrieve a fallen reputation is more difficult than to build anew. Cæsar benefactor may be praised only after Cæsar tyrant is buried. Confidence will not return until prejudice is removed. Statistics must pay the penalty for being now in ill repute. Ostracised and distrusted, it does not and should not "belong." Magazines impose a veritable quarantine before admitting it to the society of rhyme, fiction and advertising; they emphatically exclude it from the title-page. Shunned by the untutored with almost superstitious dread, it is openly abhorred by the learned as dull, untrustworthy, even venal, a deserving butt for witticisms that never grow old,—“There is a hierarchy of liars,—plain liars, expert liars and statistics.” Similar contumely and prejudice are meted out to Statistical and Statistician, the only near kin to Statistics that have not successfully repudiated their relationship. Proud words like State and Statesmanship have appropriated for themselves the reputability of the original Stat family. Not only have the accidents of two centuries favoured the pretenders, but Statistics and Statistician have too often seemed flagrantly to court disfavour. Whatever service these

Prejudice Against Statistics Justified 15

family blacksheep have rendered to mankind is obscured by their offences against clearness, interest and fairness, until few there are so poor as to do reverence to their mission or to acknowledge their important aid to social betterment. The statistician has, like the magician, yielded to the temptation to make his art seem beyond the reach of ordinary intelligence. When friends attempt a defence, they are apt to use language so technical, polysyllabic and foreign that the defence becomes itself an indictment, justifying the popular prejudice against all things statistical.

The wage earner ought to be grateful for economic statistics, when he is told that they are "a mass of facts expressed in figures which throw light on the economic organisation." The mother whose infant has died from a preventable disease should welcome vital statistics—"the science of numbers applied to the life history of communities and nations." Perhaps we have a right to expect public officials and captains of industry to covet a technique that an eminent lecturer and writer introduces with these words: "We understand as statistics, somewhat superficially considered, an extensive range of practical rather than theoretical problems. They are characterised by the effort to penetrate into the multitudinous phenomena of political and social life, of nature and civilisation, by the enumeration of characteristic facts, by classification and explanation." But for some years to come captain, official, mother and labourer will not appreci-

ate their indebtedness to Statistics if it must be described in such language.

Next to unintelligibility, the chief weakness of Statistics that may be frankly admitted is untrustworthiness. The jocular admonition,—“Always indicate what you want to prove when you ask for statistics,” was born of experience with the kind of statistics and statistician we know best. Who has not been victimised by spellbinders and spellbreakers of various political faiths, bent upon demolishing their opponent with statistics? Overwhelming proof vindicates prohibition; similar statistics differently shuffled prove its utter failure. The tariff is a national crime; by the same token,—statistics—it becomes the source of prosperity. Public officials stand on the statistical record of their administration; which very record proves their downfall when opponents arrange the statistics. After we have seen the same proposition proved and disproved conclusively by the statistical method, should we wonder that men come to attribute the black art to statisticians, classing them with lawyers who present not the truth, but a case,—assorted facts magically arranged to enforce magical conclusions?

If confusion and untrustworthiness are weaknesses, dullness is almost a crime. With words and subjects as with men, a bore is more offensive, because less entertaining, than a violator of law. Like reading aloud in monotone, statistics are unforgivable and unpermissible if only because they bore. We rarely learn

when bored. Yet who of us has not been bored almost to extinction by having our distinguished attention called to the difference between \$75,213,408.53 and \$73,907,055.84? We simply say, "What of it? Why take my time to listen to things that even you cannot remember without notes?" We are willing to grant that the statistician's mental gymnastics are wonderful. But he does not interest—he dare not therefore claim even the pretence of a hearing from me. *I don't care for statistics, I don't trust them, I can't understand them. To them I am always "out."*

This verdict is deserved, every bit of it, italics and all. The only question is, whether it is statistics alone that we dislike, or dullness, confusion and untrustworthiness, no matter what names they bear. Is not a bore by any other name as dull and exasperating? A familiar illustration of the defects conceded in the statistics and statisticians we know best is that of the mind subject to what the psychologist names "total recall," too close narration of non-essential details. This disease was characterised by one of two sisters whose voice once sounded clear above the roar of a tunnel train,—“Caroline, I just can't be interested in people I have never seen.” In a little Minnesota town I once followed a crippled boy about for two hours hearing him repeatedly describe a runaway. “You see this bottle (an inch phial)? Well, at about fifteen, no, thirteen, minutes to eight, Buck was standing at Doc's head, and I was holding the bottle like this, and

was just after putting the cork in like this, when Doc started to run," etc. Like the small boy and Caroline, statisticians have erred not in trying to teach us the statistical method of learning interesting truths, but rather in trying to interest us in unimportant, uninteresting or forbidden subjects, this last including our own weaknesses, misinformation and false beliefs.

It was not always thus with Statistics. This much hated word began life in 1648 as the name for facts "which concern obviously the prosperity of the state, either in obstructing it or contributing to it." It is the direct descendant of an earlier word

Staats — merk — würdig — keiten.
Of the state — note — worthy — things.

For a century and a half it was considered an honour to be acquainted with Statistics. Rulers vied with one another in seeking worthy things, and sent agents to all corners of the earth to count facts that would add to political wisdom in their states. The professional counter of notable things found a ready market for his wares. Kings came to see that one of the most notable things of a state was its current experience. During the French Revolution the conviction that social facts would further liberty, equality and fraternity was so strong that an elaborate machinery was built up to discover and compile such facts. Unfortunately the men who counted went about uninstructed as to what constituted a remarkable



Every Man Likes His Own Statistics 19

thing. They passed over many matters of great interest that might have been counted, and tried to measure, weigh and guess about other things that could not be counted or measured. The tendency to guess was unchecked because those who had been supposedly keeping count of acts and acres had not in mind the same facts which the government investigator desired. As in other European countries and in America, a vast amount of useless and biased misinformation was given out in the name of Statistics that confused those who read and those who tried to apply it. The hitherto cherished title, Statistician, came to be a term of opprobrium, implying dull, untrustworthy, unintelligible statements or guesses about uninteresting things, or lies, white and black, about interesting things.

Far from being the inventors of confusion, untruth and dulness, Statistics and Statistician are largely responsible for the clearer vision we have each year as to human needs and adequate remedies. Unconsciously we have grown more and more dependent upon them. We regulate our lives such as they are by decisions based upon somebody's use of the statistical method. Calamity, the improvident man's chief teacher, bows itself out when Statistical Method appears. No intelligent man can afford—he cannot truthfully say—that he loathes statistics, for this would convict him of moving with his eyes closed. He may mean that he loathes the mental exertion necessary to learn new truths or that in general he prefers guesses to facts.

But in some definite field or fields he will be found a great stickler for the essentials of the statistical method, for every man is proud of his efficiency in at least one thing, if only in ability to be practical. The physician who confesses that he abhors statistics carefully keeps a statistical record of his own cases and will talk for hours of medical experience described by figures. The woman who denies ever having read statistics knows and loves to recount the innumerable combinations employed in her games of whist or euchre. The cook scorns recipes, weights and measures after, not before, her eyes and hands have learned to weigh and measure. Among the men who make fun of statisticians are many who keep on their minds and inflict on their friends the intimate record of baseball teams and fast horses. The village gossip is using the statistical method when she exploits in detail the gowns or the shortcomings of her neighbours.

The statistical method has no monopoly of figures. The dulness attributed to it is due to the people or subjects with which we first saw it associated, as a treasured animosity or aversion not infrequently pursues certain names. As well claim that a dictionary represents the power of language as that figures are the essence of statistics. The kind of statistics we dislike or distrust is that used by people we dislike or distrust, or in behalf of theories we cannot tolerate. Our own figures, supporting an esteemed conviction, we call common sense, everybody's preference, rule of

trade, natural law or obvious fact; figures of our adversary or of a stranger we call statistics. Did you ever hear a tourist express belief in statistics? Probably not, yet fortunes are made by publishing figures and dimensions and ages whose chief use is to interest, if not to mis-educate, the tourist. We may abhor "dates," yet few grown men have the courage to admit that they know no history or that they avoid it when possible.

We love to recite the population of our city or of our nation. We are proud of our city's business, a magazine's circulation, a child's weight or our uncle's millions. The oldest inhabitant differs from the professional statistician more in the subject of his dissertations than in his love of recounting facts. The miser is as much a statistician as the actuary of an insurance company, the difference being in the use they make of their talents and not in the simple means of learning the truths that interest them most. An encyclopedia is not so readable as a detective story, but, like the lawyer's digest, the railway guide, books of quotations, handbooks of useful information and statistics, it is a means of saving time, effort and expense.

The historian who is afraid to say the "sun rose over Bunker Hill" without foot-noting his authority, or the Greek professor who drills a class to recite Section 173, B, § 1, has courage to despise the statistical method when used by teachers of economics. Carpenters and plumbers are quite as statistical as

political scientists. The mathematician does not sneer at the Q. E. D. of geometry, the scientist at Newton's Law, the physician at *Materia Medica*, the archæologist at Pompeii's ruins nor the geologist at the rough-hewn statistics of nature, yet their method of reaching truth is that of the social statistician. The mariner carries a compass, the business man keeps books to know the geography of his business, the surveyor sets stakes to show where he started and whither he is going, the lyceum of the country school keeps minutes of its proceedings. All these operations are one in kind with the minutes of man's acts out of committee known as statistics or social bookkeeping. Since we all use statistics and the statistical method for the matters that interest us most and about which we know most, such prejudice as exists against statistics is directed to subjects that have not as yet interested us or to the steps involved in learning interesting truth.

As technique is necessary for the composition and rendering of a beautiful symphony, for the painting of a portrait or the construction of a cathedral, so is technique required for the discovery and expression of truth regarding a large number of labourers, a large number of streets, a large number of patients, a large number of pupils, or a large number of personal characteristics. As we learn to separate the technique of the artist or builder from the truths they express, so we may come to accept the truth of the statistician



Statistical Method Saves Energy 23

without prejudice. To regard either the clerk who records or the figures that are recorded as the essence of statistics is as false as to measure a musician's work by the appearance of the written page instead of by the message the ears receive. We do not condemn a builder or his triumphal arch because he has employed figures and scantling. No more should we lose the soul of statistics in the materials and method required to discover and express that soul. If the workman "enters so largely into the statistical field as almost to render the production of statistics superior to or more important than the conditions or facts which give rise to them," the obvious remedy is to change workmen, not to condemn technique and statistics.

Would you shun the fire as harmful
In that once it burned a church?

Both the prejudice against statistics and its defence have their counterpart in the evolution of labour-saving devices. The substitution of mechanism for hands is still deplored by many who would prefer to have printer's type made by hand. They dislike the typograph that combines the reporter, typewriter and typesetter. They overlook the fact that the freeing of intelligence from routine makes it possible to apply it to something more worth while. To define limits within which one's personal weaknesses shall be permitted to burrow is to widen the circumference of one's higher capabilities. The adding machine and

the interest-book give bankers a chance to spend their time in developing their business. Like them, the statistical method saves for to-day's use the thought, good fortune and experience of yesterday.



III

The Simple Ingredients of the Statistical Remedy

SINCE the vigorous crusade against proprietary medicines that in the name of health were spreading broadcast the appetite for drugs and alcohol, a large portion of the thinking public has come to demand that the ingredients of every remedy be printed on the label. In all fairness the statistical method should not only proclaim the beneficent results that would follow its application, but should also confess its component parts. Thus will every user be duly warned and duly armed against surprise and deception.

Desire to know is the first and basic ingredient. The citizen, trustee or contributor who has no question in his mind can make no intelligent use of statistics. Nor is the statistical method required to tell the party affiliations of a mayor, the social connections of a trustee, the personal graces of a matron, the magnetism of a school principal or the beauty of a club drawing-room. Unfortunately, desire to know essentials has been used too sparingly in the past. How many contributors have wanted to know into what different forms of happiness their gifts were translated? How many wills have been made by testators desiring to know the probable effect of their bounty

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upon its recipients? If taxpayers followed more frequently the disbursement of their taxes to streets and schools and social order, there would be more talk of the benefits of taxation and less grumbling about its burdens. It is when we desire to know more than is obvious that the statistical method is indispensable; at last, we are beginning to realise how little that is worth while in government, philanthropy or education lies on the surface.

Unit of Inquiry, Count and Comparison are the next three ingredients. The search for a unit in business and in social work has given a great deal of unnecessary worry, once satirised in a trade journal by stanzas beginning as follows:

A wild-eyed man with a hunted look and a brow all
 seamed with care,
With shambling feet and palsied hands, and a mop
 of dishevelled hair . . .
His gaze was fixed on a distant thing, like one who
 gropes for fate,
With mind distraught and loaded down with some
 oppressive weight.
"O what is it ails you?" the passersby cried, as they
 saw the wreck forlorn.
"A unit, a unit, oh, which is the unit?" he muttered
 from early morn.

"If we get five cents for hauling a crab from Boston's
 quaint old streets
To 'Frisco town, by the Golden Horn, what are the
 net receipts?

How much for coal, for wear and tear, for all the trainmen's pay?

How much dead weight does the engine haul if the crab dies on the way?"

Yet by this time so many units of inquiry have been found in railroading that a school commissioner recently contrasted the ease of finding the railroad unit with the "impossibility" of discovering a unit in school administration. He was asked a number of questions. "If you are talking of coal purchased (ton), used (amount per cubic foot heated) and on hand (ton), can you not find the unit; or if you are talking of desks supplied and desks lacking, buildings planned but not completed, books paid for but unused? If there is a unit for all material things purchased by the board of education, is there no way of establishing a unit of service purchased, the day served or the child reached by service? In talking of children who play truant, is there not a discoverable *one*? Or of children who drop out after attending school five weeks or of children who are from two to six years behind their proper grade, of those who fail to win promotion, of the number on part time?" So convinced was he that there are as many school units as there are intelligent questions with regard to school matters that he replied:—"I do not believe certain of my colleagues have ever thought of it this way. I am going to do my best to secure the adoption of a proper system of school records."

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The only unit the statistical method knows is the *unit of inquiry*. There is no unit for the man who has no inquiry. Much of our worry has come from trying to make up lists of units before we listed our questions. Not infrequently mental gymnastics have proved so agreeable that the unit-maker has given the impression of trying to refine and refine until every physical object should be reduced to its lowest terms, the atom. There is no conceivable circumstance that would require one to know the kernels of corn on a cob or in a bushel. We are told that the hairs of our heads are numbered, but no useful purpose was ever proposed for that knowledge until too late. If kernel and hair have practical importance, the unit is there and can be counted. In one walk of life the money unit is the cent, elsewhere it is a dime, a dollar or a hundred dollar share; with the Scotchman about to be generous it is a farthing, his "bawbee," while with a certain swaggering American it is \$500 on a golf stroke, \$50,000 on an election and any part of six millions on a matter of personal prestige. The unit at quarantine is the passenger; at the custom-house it ought to be baggage, but too frequently is the man who does not want the baggage examined. The hospital unit varies with the question, never meaning a mere person, but a person who applies for treatment, is treated, cured, improved or discharged unimproved; or again a day or a meal for a pay patient, for a free patient or for a part-pay patient. The



Some Common Place Units 29

table d'hôte unit is a meal; à la carte, dishes served.

One of the first units known to childhood is that employed in hide-and-seek; who has forgotten the burden lifted when the unit changed from one to two and then to five, each increase hastening the hundred goal when eyes might open? The transition from the day to the piece as the unit for wages has taught millions, whether working in factory, selling books or collecting bad debts, to reason from question to unit. The tourist learns from foreign taverns for the first time that there are many units of expense that the landlords must count, and the tourist pay or avoid,—soap, candle, bath, room, boots, chambermaid. The American plan is preferred by the tourist because he does not desire to know the details of hotel keeping; which details, however, the landlord fails to count at his peril.

It has been estimated that the average household wastes half its provisions; to save this waste, therefore, will give the same result as to increase wages by the same amount. Housewives are rarely interested in units of expense, although experts have devised a plan to identify and keep track of each unit:



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Days	Table Supplies	Rent, Light, Fuel	Service, Laundry	Reading Matter	Entertainment	Clothing	House Furnishing	Trips—Carfares	Total
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									

A woman will regard such display of units with disdain until forced to practise economies or take boarders. Then items take on a new significance. She even figures the cost to her of each meal and makes allowance for breakfast, lunch or dinner taken elsewhere if she is notified in advance. She abandons the week as a unit in all her own reckoning, even when she humours her non-inquiring boarder by conceding the expense facts that make up that week. The monthly statement comes to read:

Total cost of provisions..... \$61.60
 Total number of meals.....220
 Cost per meal.....28c.

Miss J.'s share, 93 meals at 28c. \$26.04

Dr. J.'s share, 87 meals at 28c. 24.36

Mrs. A.'s share, 40 meals at 28c. 11.20

————— \$61.60

If the person were the unit each would pay \$20.53.

Counting, the third ingredient, is the mind's best substitute for guessing. We should of course not

count the same unit more than once in one total. When one is not particular and has no question to answer, one dispenses with a count and is satisfied with "several," "often," lots," "few," "hardly any," "considerable," "large." But these words do not mean the same to all men in all places, or to the same man at all times. "The *sometimes* of the cautious is the *often* of the sanguine, the *always* of the empiric, and the *never* of the sceptic; while the numbers 1, 10, 100 and 10,000 have but one meaning for all mankind."

Comparing, the fourth ingredient, qualifies the second half of the above sentence. Figures do not "have but one meaning" for all mankind at all times. On the contrary, they have so many different meanings that it is necessary to know what units they count. The price \$73.98 means little until we know whether it paid for a hat, an overcoat or lunch for four. The figure 50 may be large or small, according to the possibilities in the case, whether we mean 50 thousand or 50 million, 50 accidents or 50 oranges, 50 men out of 52 or 50 out of 100,000. Were 5,000 Swiss to die in one year of tuberculosis, a panic would ensue; when only 5,000 die annually of that disease in the United States we shall congratulate ourselves on having stamped out the scourge. Boats are large or small, swift or slow, according to their background. A Roman giant was a pigmy in Gaul. The sign of comparison is a mark (—), the unit we have identified and counted going above the line, and the back-

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ground with which we compare it going below the line: $7/14$ means seven compared with fourteen; we have gone halfway or removed half the burden;

$$\frac{\text{What my house cost}}{\text{What my house was worth}} = \frac{\$25,000}{\$30,000} = \text{a bargain};$$

$$\frac{\text{Price paid for silver shares}}{\text{Value of shares}} = \frac{\$100}{0} = \text{swindle};$$

$\frac{20 \text{ in a thousand died this year}}{18 \text{ in a thousand died last year}}$: the death rate indicates that sanitary precautions are neglected. In a word, comparison furnishes the denominator as counting furnishes the numerator of the statistical fraction; the numerator gives the number of units discovered in answer to our question, the denominator gives the total number of units with which we compare the units counted.

Things counted and background with which they are compared must be the same in kind; dollars cannot be compared with men or bushels, but dollars possessed by one man may be compared with dollars held by another, price per bushel with price per bushel. Two statistical fractions cannot be added or subtracted until reduced to a common denominator.

$1/8$ and $1/7$ are not comparable.

Their lowest common denominator is 56.

$$1/8 = 7/56.$$

$$1/7 = 8/56.$$

$1/7$ is $1/56$ greater than $1/8$.

Comparison Too Little Used 83

The tax rate of town A is \$1.85, of town B, \$1.75 for every hundred dollars of assessed valuation. If the denominator is assessed valuation, the taxes of A are 10 cents higher than of B. But taxes come from actual values, not assessed values; property in A is assessed at $\frac{3}{4}$ its true value, in B at 100%.

\$100,000, assessed at 75%, \$75,000 @ \$1.85
= \$1,387.50, tax paid.

\$100,000, assessed at 100%, \$100,000 @ \$1.75
= \$1,750.00, tax paid.

Whether taxes paid are lower in town A where the tax rate is higher, depends upon one other *comparison*,— taxes paid with what taxes buy in the two towns.

Simple as is comparison, it is too little known in published reports and in the discussion of civic and charitable matters. To care for 100 patients has not the same significance in Chicago as in a village of 1,000 inhabitants. Achievement is often measured and valued by the fact of arriving rather than by distance traversed or time consumed. Readers are supposed to see intuitively the significance of the fact that the street-cleaning department spent \$352,183 last year, and a public bath spent \$43,399, or that the aggregate attendance of the vacation schools was 632,196. These figures are in themselves meaningless until compared with the expense and attendance of preceding periods, and what is always of greater importance, with the *least expense and greatest attendance possible under the circumstances*.

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Subtraction and *Percentages* are two other ingredients necessary for a proper statistical compound and are parts of *Comparison*. The purpose of comparison being to measure difference, gain or loss, progress or retrogression, subtraction is indispensable. The statement that provisions this year cost \$31,500 and \$36,000 last year would be perfectly plain to any one who would subtract the former from the latter. Most readers will, however, simply say "less" or "much less". To make sure that the saving is appreciated, it is wise to write out "a difference of \$4,500." Because many readers do not picture to themselves the fraction $\frac{\$4,500}{\$36,000}$, it is worth while to perform for them all the operation of discovering that the saving, \$4,500, is $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ of \$36,000. One other comparison is necessary—namely, provision cost with number of people boarded, or more accurately, with meals served. If we gave the same number of meals for $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ less money an economy is obvious. If, however, our meals served decreased 25% and our cost only half as much, then each meal cost more than last year and the apparent showing of economy is changed to presumption of extravagance. So that to tell the whole lesson we must set side by side not only this year's cost and last year's cost, this year's service and last year's service, but also the cost per unit (the meal) of service rendered this year with cost per unit of service rendered last year. That a meal costs more

Percentages Are Phonetics of Business 35

in a small hospital than in a large hospital does not prove extravagance; it does raise a doubt as to the utility of small hospitals; which doubt requires a comparison of *cost per unit of service rendered with measurable result of that service*. If one hospital by spending \$2 per day per patient cures bone tuberculosis in 300 days, it is cheaper at the price (\$600) than another that at \$1.25 per day per patient will never effect a cure, or will require three years (\$1,380).

Harsh judgment often follows a showing of two selected years or months or cases for comparison. Great credit was claimed for a "good" officer because of the smaller number of criminal cases waiting to be tried at the end of 1904 as compared with 1900. Had the years 1903 and 1899 been compared, corresponding credit would have been reflected upon the anti-goodness party. To prevent misreading the evidence and precipitating some mistaken policy, several successive periods should be compared.

Percentages are the phonetic spelling of arithmetic. In America and in continental Europe every man who handles money is accustomed to think in parts of one hundred, i.e., percentages. Reports cannot tell their story plainly if no use is made of percentages. Givers and taxpayers are awed or pleased by meaningless totals, which when given their true value—lined up according to height—by the percentage method, seem trifling or extravagant instead of huge or economical.

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So long as statistics has to do with facts of but one kind, no other ingredients whatever are necessary unless it be *Summary*. Columns get too long. It is impossible to carry in the mind totals for 30 or 100 days. To learn how many babies under five died from preventable disease, no one wants to run over a year's records. Readers should not be expected to make footings or to select the totals that give the year's principal lessons. Somewhere in a report should be a birdseye view.

<i>Sea Breeze: Day & Stay Parties</i>	1901	1903	1904	1905
Women and children taken..	21,604	20,453	21,878	19,452
Total days—stay and day ...	42,057	44,688	53,722	53,455
Total cost.....	\$25,381	\$28,824	\$28,282	\$29,881

This summary clearly illustrates the value of "comparative tables" and "proper units of comparison." Comparing *persons* taken to Sea Breeze, we have lost, since 1901, 21,604 minus 19,452, or 2,152—9.9%. But obviously one person staying ten days costs more than one person staying one day. Comparing days spent at Sea Breeze by persons taken, the work has grown from 42,057 to 53,455 days: i.e., 11,396 days, or 27%; while cost has increased \$4,500, or 17%. To have done the work of 1905 at the per capita rate of 1901 would have cost \$39,048 instead of \$29,881. We saved, therefore, the equivalent of \$9,167. *If we had lost in days spent at Sea Breeze instead of gaining 11,396 days, or \$9,167, the fact might have been concealed from our contributors by simply failing to present a table based upon the "proper unit of comparison."* To be still more accurate, we should count a person on stay visit as equivalent to about three persons staying one day only, for the former eats three meals and spends the night. (From the Report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 1905.)

Summaries Prevent Misunderstanding 37

In the report for 1906, subtraction and percentages improved the heading:

SUMMARY: FRESH AIR WORK

Numbers Aided	1902-03	1904-05	1905-06	1905-06 Compared with 1904-05	
				% In- crease	% De- crease
<i>Sea Breeze Stay Parties</i>					

Where the percentage and difference fail to convey the picture of change, a diagram will prove helpful. We never outgrow our preference for the block method of learning. To add a muscular appreciation to the mind's understanding is good pedagogics. This, however, is an aid in applying the mixture rather than a separate element.

To be expert in the use of the statistical method of securing facts *as to any one kind of unit* requires, therefore, nothing beyond the reach of the simplest lay intelligence,—desire to know, unit of inquiry, counting, comparing, subtraction, percentages, summary. Such forbidding ingredients as differential calculus, logarithms, median, equation of curve of error, are no more ingredients of statistics than of cathedrals. They are merely technical means, short

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cuts to mixing and measuring the other main ingredients. They are helps when one is using statistics on a large scale. The ordinary citizen will never need to use them any more than he will need to make his own clothes or melt and alloy his own bullion into coin. We do not stop riding over bridges, worshipping in cathedrals, visiting museums of art or availing ourselves of the benefits of surgical science because we have not acquired the technique necessary to bridge, cathedral, art and surgery. We demand technique in our tailor or dentist or bootmaker. Likewise when beyond our depth in counting units of interest we should see the importance of calling in men who have mastered the technique of statistics on a large scale even if they are said to use logarithms and weird curves. If one expert is dishonest or dreamy or impractical we engage another; we do not disavow expertness, accuracy and "practical."

But just as soon as our inquiry has to do with more than one kind of thing or fact, there is danger of getting mixed and of counting wrong. Cashiers keep nickels and dimes and quarters in separate piles to prevent giving out the wrong coin in a hurry. It is quicker for a newsboy to count his assets, if his penny papers and three-cent papers are carefully separated. This process, called *Classification*, is the only hard thing about Statistics, the only ingredient it is difficult to be sure about. At first glance nothing seems easier than keeping things of a kind together, ribbons with

ribbons, shoes with shoes, infants with infants, debts with debts, assets with assets, members with members, fever cases with other cases of the same fever. But people are forever mixing things up in veritable grab bags, having a place for everything and everything in one place, instead of a place for everything and each thing in its own place. Until the contents of Tom Sawyer's pocket are laid out and properly posted or recorded or packed away, there can be no classification and no statistics and no report worth while. We must choose messification or classification.

No reader will find it difficult to name a hundred different ways in which classification helps him. Have you ever thought what torture intelligence would be if we had no alphabet and if in one dictionary the letters ran c, h, a, o, s, and in the next c, o, n, f, u, s, i, o, n? We line soldiers according to height. The days of the week are classified,—washing day, ironing day, cleaning day, visiting day, prayer-meeting night, bath night. What if church was on no regular day and at no regular hour? Passengers are asked to come in at the rear door; to leave by the front door. A surgeon recently put carbolic acid in his eye; he kept it alongside of boracic acid. The chief difference between the notion store and the department store is that the latter keeps laces with laces, soda water at the fountain and hardware in the basement instead of all together. The chief difference between a "good" clerk and a "poor" clerk in a department store is that the latter does not

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put things back where they belong before she covers the counter with goods of a different kind. We all believe "first come, first served." Railroad tickets are classified,—blue for second class, white for first class, green for excursion; the minister once rode on a "charity ticket" and the President on a pass. The baggage check shows whether bicycle, trunk, package was shipped and whether fragile or injured. Now postage varies with the character of matter mailed; in 1850 it was classified as to miles carried. The woodman sorts lumber; the grain buyer grades wheat; the business directory marks men 1-2-2 or 3-3-3 as they are "good" or "bad" pay. The Brooklyn Bridge crush was barbarous until would-be passengers were classified according to destination. Even the Italian mother knows that no baby under five months old should be fed macaroni and bananas.

Did you never know a cook who was forever calling to waitress and nursemaid and mistress,—“Where’s the cocoa?” “Do you know where I put the milk?” Did you ever try to find your way in Boston’s winding streets, named after men and events that defy classification; then you love Washington for naming its streets after the points of the compass, numbers and letters. As a newspaper reader you have learned exactly where to find the advertisements and editorials or how to avoid them when you choose. Department stores would stop their advertisements if surrounded by want ads, lost and found and clairvoyant cards.

Is Disordered Thinking Reputable? 41

Have you ever thought of the advantage of doctors living on one street and of furniture dealers, wholesale clothiers, charities and professional men flocking together in one building or one district? No one pities the man who carries five dollar gold pieces and bright pennies loose in the same pocket.

It is really surprising that people who use classification constantly as a means of keeping out of others' way and of avoiding disorder should turn a cold shoulder on every proposal to classify their information. Why should disordered thinking be more reputable than disordered housekeeping? To base judgment as to politics or charity upon stray news items or gossip will some day seem as preposterous, yes as "untidy" and "queer" as to keep clean and soiled linen in one drawer, to plant in one row peas, beans, radish, lettuce and pie plant, or sow in one field corn, oats, clover, wheat and good resolutions.

How a fact is to be classified depends upon the use one wants to make of information. Books are generally classified according to subject. One Philadelphia library still places them according to size. Juveniles are being kept by themselves more and more, as are technical works, while progressive librarians and booksellers keep out all new books to satisfy and awaken curiosity and interest. The purpose determines whether the basis of classification shall be *size, subject, age of reader, newness of book, or technique*. So men may be classified according to *age, sex, na-*

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tionality, occupation, church membership, Greek letter affiliation, height or temper, etc. Expenditures are classified in numerous ways according to the use to be made of the information :

<i>According to function and year.</i>	1905.	1906.		
For running the home office.				
(Divisions.)				
For salesmen.				
(Listed.)				
For advertising.				
(Mediums.)				
For goods.				
(Kinds.)				
<i>According to months and years.</i>	1905.	1906.		
January to June.				
July to December.				
<i>According to method of payment.</i>	1905.	1906.		
Check.				
Note.				
Cash.				
<i>Eggs classified by months</i>				
<i>according to price and</i>				
<i>kind.</i>	Jan.	Feb.	March.	Dec.
Strictly fresh.				
Fresh.				
Just eggs.				

Schools and colleges have wasted an enormous amount of human energy, trying to teach classification through the ear and the mind instead of through the eye. Men and women graduate from college who



Classification Releases Energy of Business 48

can descant on Descartes and Plato, know reams of rhetoric and psychology and philosophy, but cannot keep things of a kind together in their bureau drawers or in their conversation. They "just dote" on limericks. Perhaps the time will come when statistics will take the place in our curriculum now held by mental science. Certain it is that in the practical world classification is appreciated as a means of releasing energy for business that otherwise would be spent in hunting up the tools of business.

After an article on Everyman a Statistician two professional statisticians remonstrated as follows:—"We don't want Everyman a statistician; but we do want some millionaire to own statisticians and enable them to do statistical work for Everyman. We do want Everyman, however, to know that it is worth as much to him to have a count of school children as of the pigs and telegraph poles of his state." The second wrote,—"There is great danger in the assumption that Everyman can be a statistician. We will be having all sorts of wild guesses." Both writers fall into the error that has marked the discussion of popular education,—Fear of the little learning. What they really mean is,—*"We do not want frauds and quacks in statistics. Men should not pretend to knowledge or power they do not possess."* Of course not. Nor should they pretend to sing if they cannot, to cure consumption or to run an airship. But with statistics as elsewhere it is safe and highly desirable that Every-



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man use what powers he possesses and that he learn to distinguish the genuine from the false. Everyman may safely use the statistical method just so far as his interests make him responsible for decisions or lead him to make assertions of fact.



IV

The Business Doctor

THERE is a man in New York whose business card bears the title D.S.A. He explains that he performs for business disorders the same service as a medical practitioner performs for indigestion or fracture, a dentist for toothache, an oculist for astigmatism or cross-eyes, an alienist for shattered nerves and disordered brain. He uses the physician's method in learning what has gone wrong; inspects the business, feels the pulse, looks at the eyes, asks about daily routine, hunts out disturbing causes and prescribes a remedy that will remove, not merely cover up or deaden the pain. Sometimes it is necessary to perform a surgical operation, such as resetting or amputating a bone, trephining where there is pressure on the brain, or removing a useless vermiform appendix. This Doctor of Sick Accounts is regularly employed by many business houses just as is a family physician or dentist, to look about from time to time to see if weakening causes are at work that have been overlooked by the patient. A rapidly increasing number of business men find it much more profitable to pay a Business Doctor for keeping them well than for curing them of grave and neglected maladies.

As mankind came to value physical health, numerous preventive measures were adopted,—cleaning streets, protecting water sources, quarantine, disinfection, certifying milk, letting in fresh air, removing offensive sights and odours. The physician and the scientist discovered new truth; the health officer and the merchant circulated it. So in business, after science and preventive medicine discover principles, legislation and commerce can make it both necessary and easy to apply them. Fortunately neither business health nor professional ethics has forbidden the advertising of these preventives and cures, whose proofs of superiority can be found in every magazine and newspaper. Devices may now be purchased for preventing “unsanitary” business conditions, for disclosing them promptly when they arise, and for removing them. The insurance agent in central Kansas can buy a desk that provides him with a method of classifying and recording his experience, his premiums and his obligations, as effective as that used in Boston. The careless lawyer can be made “careful to order” if he will buy a cabinet and put his papers where cards cry aloud for him to put them. The village librarian can buy outright the latest method of indexing and managing a library in true metropolitan fashion. The country editor who is paid in kind can for a trifle get a scheme for following up his subscription list. Trade journals persuade seller and buyer alike that an interchange of experience as to trade methods will be mutually helpful.

Ingredients of Business Method 47

It seems to have escaped general attention that the ingredients of Business Method are identical with those of Statistical Method,—*desire to know; unit of inquiry; count; comparison; subtraction; percentages; classification; summary.* Business Method has an enviable reputation in spite of its resemblance to Statistical Method because men were earlier and in larger numbers interested in trade, and because the beneficent results of trade efficiency are almost immediately apparent. So intent is the business man upon these results that he fails to see his inconsistency in extolling the Statistical Method in business while denouncing every attempt to apply it to civic and social work. When official and trustee come to see the essential oneness of Business Method and Statistical Method they will find less irksome and more like second nature the steps necessary to efficiency in public life, as citizen, officer and philanthropist. Most of them will be gratified to learn that statistics requires no powers which they are not supposed to possess and to use daily in business and in professional life, and that statistioal bureau, clearing house, and real estate and title insurance are of the same set.

Desire to know is by no means universal among business men. That is probably the reason nine out of ten men have failed in the past. The merchant kept store, not countable goods. He was the victim or beneficiary of his experience, not its student and master. Satisfied if able to support his family, meet his

obligations and make money, he was in the same position as the average housewife who has not the slightest idea where the money goes or how it is divided among different purchases, except that she "is sure she does her best" on each day to be "saving" or to get a good bargain. In too many large and small enterprises, as in too many homes, large sums are expended without any corresponding return in satisfaction to the spender. The uninquiring merchant, like the lady who prides herself on spending \$100,000 a year on dress, could learn from the statistical method how to double his profits. In fact desire to know is still so rare in business that we quite generally attribute the forging ahead of our competitor to good luck, inherited traits, monopoly, favourable location or to the prejudice, ignorance or sensationalism of customers.

How long it took the American farmer to learn the value of rotating crops! There still remain farmers who sow wheat after wheat and corn after corn on the same field and wonder why Providence favours their neighbours who follow corn with wheat and wheat with clover. The desire to know what constitutes a good fertiliser, how it should be used, what it will cost and what it will produce is a first step in increasing the value of farm land from \$25 to \$100 an acre. Because they know that desire to know, once stimulated, will grow and will pay well for facts, progressive journalists are selling the farmer answers to questions already in his mind and answers to questions that he

should ask regarding his business. The farmer is no longer content with the weight of his wallet after crops are sold, but asks,—“Would timothy have done better than clover? Did the milk separator or wind-mill pay? Is the Jersey as all-round serviceable as the Hereford? Am I getting as much as my neighbour per unit of effort expended?” The southern farmer is to-day learning for the first time the value of supplementing cotton with bees, silkworms, and nuts as the northern farmer slowly learned that milk and eggs would “pay the grocer.”

The Unit of Inquiry is quickly found when once the farmer, storekeeper, grain buyer wishes to explain more about his failures and successes than lies on the surface. The other processes are in the line of least resistance after desire to know takes hold. The man who asks questions adds to his strength in competition. He may prefer a profit of \$15 on each of 50 carriages (\$750) rather than \$25 for each of ten carriages (\$250). The value of an inventory may have been suggested to him by the suspicious acts of an employee or by an item in a trade journal. Counting of stock on hand shows that year after year certain articles have been accumulating with practically no sales, that other goods have disappeared with no return to proprietor, or that show-window samples, top-pieces of lumber, etc., will bring little if anything. Henceforth samples and top-pieces are sold before too late. Goods hidden away, rusted or out-of-date are cleared

out and future congestion prevented. Because competition kills profit, four grain dealers make a "gentleman's agreement,"—one of the first effective American trusts—to divide the field, and to fix the price of grain. An accurate account of quantity purchased and price paid becomes necessary. Personal must be separated from business expenses. In order to keep the agreement the druggist, the grocer and the hardware man must separate grain expenses from store expenses. The principle is soon profitably applied to the wagon department, tinware department, ready-made clothing. Lessons learned inspire new inquiries, last year's mistakes are studied, and the first condition of efficiency exists.

The memory or a slip of paper no longer suffices to answer questions as to goods bought, time of arrival, goods sold, cash deposited, bills payable, debts due. An engagement or "date" book is kept. To put debits and credits in different columns but on the same page saves an enormous amount of time for dealer and debtor, and avoids disputes that are expensive from the standpoint of both. A monthly balancing serves notice of too much trust to one customer, or too tardy payment of bills. The saving of three, five or 10% from discounts for cash or for payment within 30 days proves to be a large item and justifies necessary vigilance and temporary sacrifice.

It becomes important to know not only whether the business as a whole is profitable, but whether each

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salesman is a good investment. To prevent lapse of memory on the part of salesmen a cash register is introduced. Sales are totaled and compared; A is dismissed in the hope of obtaining another salesman who will do as good work as B, or perhaps A's salary is increased because his work puts him in a class with B. This classification is readily applicable to months or to seasons of the year, or to hours of the day. I recall one country business where the night trade was slighted until it changed hands. Then the new owners, wishing to know whether or not to keep open at night, discovered that the profits on their night sales more than paid all fixed expenses for the entire business.

Not infrequently a housewife takes boarders at \$5 or \$10 a week to increase family income. The head of the family wonders just why it is that the drain upon his income is not relieved by these receipts. Answer: If he will look about him, he will probably find that the boarder's money is going into bric-a-brac, better clothes and other means of raising the standard of living. He may even find that the extras lavished by his good wife on her favoured boarders exceed the returns from her hospitality.

A club of western students was happy in the fact that it was providing satisfactory board for \$1.13 a week. After a month of hallucination this figure jumped to \$4 a week with no corresponding change in diet. It was then discovered that in the earlier weeks provisions bought but not paid for were not included.

At another university the Faculty Club found its expenses and its debt gradually mounting. A new committee was appointed, headed by a statistician who asked a number of questions and showed the steward exactly how these questions could be answered. If 200 oranges were purchased and 65 used for dinner, an inventory at night should show a balance of 135 oranges. The steward did not realise that a simple little system of answers prepared for him to fill out each day would tell at the end of a fortnight the sad truth that he and his friends were disposing of from 25 to 40% of the supplies purchased.

This line of development you will observe is constantly in the direction of what is known in the business world as *control*, that is, mastery of the situation because of knowledge regarding it. As soon as business becomes complex memory is an unsafe guide, and classification becomes more and more necessary. Monopoly of information preceded and later accompanied trust evils; just as dissemination of facts has proved the most effective means of checking their excesses. Things which in the abstract have no interest become invaluable when profit is to be made from knowledge or penalty follows ignorance. When a fire burns the records or a trusted clerk leaves, the proprietor sees for the first time the value of a fire-proof safe and of a method of bookkeeping independent of him who makes a sale and carries the details in his memory. Grain buyers are told that they may have

profit from the tare. Immediately they find more tare than ever before. The farmer, the victim of many such jokes, is robbed, but as an incidental benefit to the grain trade a method of bookkeeping is introduced that distinguishes clearly the tare from the wheat. Furthermore the farmer himself learns to count his own tare and weigh his own grain and wagon before going to town. Very much the same evolution is now beginning toward control by public intelligence of banks and of trust and insurance companies. Perhaps if the valuable lessons the business world is learning from business dishonour were realised, fewer looters would consider suicide or expatriation their only refuge.

Losses are no longer charged against the business as a whole, but ferretted out and charged against the particular department where the waste or bad judgment exists. Profits are no longer blindly credited to the business as a whole, but rather to those particular departments that earn them. Having discovered profit in putting debit and credit where they could be seen at a glance, of having monthly balances, of using cheque books and bank books, of journal entries, the business man comes to realise that similar debits and credits, journal entries and cheques may be applied to goods. He sees that the stock-pile tells more stories than the customer. Neckties have individuality as distinct from shoes, as has John Doe from John Smith. While it is not worth while to tabulate the first names of cus-

tomers, it may be worth while to tabulate the streets on which they live. It is not worth while to keep track of the sales by the $\frac{1}{4}$ hours, but it may be profitable to know the sales by months or weeks. He may not care to know where his salesmen live, whether they are married and how they vote, but he should know where they are during business hours or when on the road. He does not care to record the colour of goods or the shape of the packages in which they arrive, but he needs to know whether they remain unsold, whether they become shop-worn, whether they are wasted. Ideas, like wagons, must be classified and valued. Unless the business man is a gambler and acts with no reference to laws of trade, he must apply the statistical method in deciding whether to enlarge his business or to add a new line, whether it pays to run full capacity all the time. If he advertises, he will keep count of returns, using key words or numbers to see which magazines and newspapers pay, and will note the return from different types of advertisement in different seasons.

The book trade has suffered several failures that speak eloquently of the need for business doctors and statistical method. Firms that are household words, in time of apparent prosperity, went into bankruptcy because their managers had been satisfied with unclassified totals, desiring to know too little regarding their own experience. They advertised books that could not be sold, slighted others they could have

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sold. They failed to distinguish magazine receipts from those on fiction, encyclopedias and technical works. They had no means of telling the value of an author's name; circularised the wrong audience; spent money advertising in the wrong journals; failed to discover the life of a book or the best season for pushing it. Now all this is changing. An illustration of the kind of thing it is necessary for publishers to know is found in the action of *Charities and Commons*, when asked recently to consider adding a new feature to its work, namely, special articles, news items, etc., bearing on the physical welfare of school children. The publication committee believed thoroughly that propaganda was necessary and desired to take up the campaign. The business management prepared a statement showing exactly what it would cost in time, in paper used, how much for composition, publishing and mailing. Failure to secure this information would have forced the publication into one of two positions: (1) advertising a program that it was financially unable to carry out; (2) curtailing established departments.

The life insurance business occupied the centre of the stage for nearly two years, offering conclusive evidence that an uninformed public is sure prey for looters. Incidentally it altered greatly the public's veneration of Success. Cancer was disclosed by "best men" who felt that the favours and penalties of plunder were being unequally distributed. Some favoured

the incantations of medicine men, others wanted osteopathy, while another who has already paid a price similar to Colonel Waring's for sanitary zeal, convinced the public that there "was need of the advice and probably of the knife of the trained surgeon." What then was this disease? *Too many directors had cared to know little more regarding their experience than enough to keep profits flowing into their own pockets and themselves out of jail.* When finally reorganised, their accounts will show not "good" men as directors, for these will be at a discount in the insurance business. No real conversion is possible until the directors arm themselves and the public with facts as to districts and agents, profits from various kinds of risk and investment, reason for lapses, administration expenses, campaign presents, premiums.

No better illustration can be given either of business made efficient because of statistics or failing because of their want than railroading. Millions of dollars have been squandered in this country because managers of railroads learned nothing from their own experience or that of others. To-day the presidents of our great railways can tell at a glance, from a summary always up to date, exactly what was the expense of a thousand miles of line every month during the last two years. They find that it is as important to know what community is shipping fewer goods this year than last, as does the ward leader to know what voters have not turned out by four o'clock. It is not

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from sentiment, it is not to save lives, but to save millions of dollars, that railroads employ a train despatcher who can locate trains at any moment. It is not from sentiment, but from economy, that may be readily computed in dollars and cents that a block system of signals is substituted for the flagman, that water troughs between tracks along the line take the place of windmills, that mechanical devices plus man's brain are constantly taking the place of man's hands. Railroad abuses continue to exist partly because dummy directors do not have access to the presidents' vest-pocket summaries, and partly because the presidents themselves are more interested in railroad growth than in railroad efficiency.

Gradually the auditor who verifies totals and certifies that debit and credit sides foot up the same is either giving way to or himself becoming a business doctor, with the name expert accountant. If few members of this profession have heretofore developed *fresh air, more light* methods, it is because their clients have wanted to know too little, have valued business health too cheaply. This much we know to-day that if you can tell the doctor what you want to know about your business, or if you will permit him to tell you how your kind of business ought to act and appear, he can devise a plan that will automatically bring this knowledge to you daily, weekly, monthly or annually. The Business Doctor must of course be encouraged to tell the truth, not to call consumption

malaria, or alcoholism and Saint Vitus dance *nervousness*. Many physicians unprofessionally give patients what robs of vitality while promising relief. With D.S.A.'s, as with M.D.'s, the title in itself is no proof of either ability or integrity. Courses of training have not yet been developed, even with the aid of state examinations, that will insure the patient against quacks and faith cures, willing to confuse current income and legacies, capital investment and current expense in order to give the appearance of sound health.

In every section of the country "good" work is hampered for want of funds, death rates refuse to fall, officers disappoint their reform friends, business ventures fail. There is a reason. That reason can be found and removed unless a mortal disease is at work requiring the body to die. Wherever disturbing conditions exist the Business Doctor should be consulted. If you do not know any such, the New York School of Philanthropy will send a list; methods of systematising business are advertised in almost all magazines. When not practicable to ask an outside expert to pass upon the health of a business, a city department or a charitable society, it is worth while to make some one insider responsible for studying health problems. At least it is feasible for the proprietor, mayor, president or treasurer to set apart a portion of his time in which to gain special knowledge of weak and strong points. No man's responsibility is too small to benefit from seeing himself as others would see him. If you have



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occasion to advise friends responsible for the efficiency and health of a factory, hospital, school or church, no better counsel can be given than that of the New York Board of Health to mothers of sick babies,—
“Send for a doctor at once. If you cannot pay for a doctor, take the baby to the nearest dispensary. The rooms should be free from garbage and clean. Remove soiled pieces of carpet and unnecessary clothing and furniture. Don’t feed the baby coffee, tea, beer or any liquor.”

V

The State as Doctor

AN illuminating proof of the superiority of the efficiency test over the goodness test is afforded by man's effort to check disease and to promote health. For centuries Christian nations, like their pagan fore-runners, attributed pestilence to Heaven,—a penalty for sin and a reminder of Omnipotence. How ineffectual was the goodness remedy is strikingly shown by a painting in the Liverpool gallery entitled "The Plague." A mediæval village lined with picturesque houses, such as tourists seek in Chester, Oxford and parts of London, is strewn with the dead and dying. Bloated, spotted faces look into the eyes of ghouls as lace and jewelry are torn from bodies not yet cold. In the foreground a muscular giant, paragon of conscious virtue, clad like John the Baptist and Bible in hand, strides among his plague-stricken fellow-townsmen, urging them to turn from their sins. Ghouls and Black Death move on to the next victim. Modern efficiency desires to know of the first outbreak of the plague, isolates the patient, thoroughly cleanses or destroys, if necessary, all infected clothing, bedding, floors and walls, and makes it possible for the thousands not stricken to go on living for each other with

a better chance of bringing forth deeds meet for repentance.

In no field of human effort have efficiency tests accomplished such wonders as in that of State Medicine; nowhere else is the statistical method held in such high esteem. The triumphs of sanitary reform, which Lecky considered the brightest page in the history of the nineteenth century, were due not so much to an increased valuation on life as to increased knowledge of conditions detrimental to health. Without any change in the fundamental law of nuisances,—So use what you own that you shall not injure another—the number of acts which the law will prevent has multiplied a hundred-fold as man has read his experience, counted, compared, classified and summarised facts regarding the causes of sickness and death. More men are to-day giving their undivided attention to the detection and elimination of disease centres in New York City alone than were concerned with the health of the civilised world a century ago. The seven successive steps by which Pestilence and Calamity have been put under check and made unnecessary by Fact indicate both the every-day tests and the motives upon which depends the promotion of health and of justice and opportunity. Seven characteristic catch-words may prove helpful to those wishing to learn the needs of their own community so as to secure legislation or to earn public support in meeting those needs.

Instinct was the first sanitarian or tribe doctor. By

the distribution of plant life, of heat and moisture the nomad was forced to enjoy pure air, pure water and pure soil. In his conflict with nature he learned to shun certain plants as poisonous, as well as to reject discoloured water and offensive foods. Physical laws fast became moral principles enforced by religious sanction. How costly the early lessons must have been is shown by the death penalties inflicted for poisoning water sources and food supplies, and by the stringent rules regulating burials, intermarriage, the use of swine flesh, etc.

Impulse still prompts too many educated men and women to sanitary precautions and to philanthropy. The sidewalk across the street was icy; a well-dressed woman came from a basement and tumbled down at the feet of a professional beggar. Had he met her before she fell he would have drawn a long face, said he was starving and asked for a penny. She would have recoiled from instinct, and perhaps sent him across the street to the United Charities Building. But after she fell he forgot for a time his own spurious distress and gave her a look of sympathy, for which she was instinctively grateful. Seeing his opportunity, he asked for help like a man, and she parted not only with a coin, but with an apple and banana that she happened to have in a bag.

"One touch of sorrow makes the whole world kin."

Comfort and æsthetics forced Rome to pave streets,

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and to install aqueducts, sewers and public baths. This somewhat crude motive that flooded the streets of Rome with water is also accountable for cleaning the avenues of the wealthy in modern cities three times as often as the congested, narrow, sweltering, disease-reeking alleys. As Greece worshipped Hygeia, the goddess of physical perfection and beauty, so Rome and Carthage were primarily interested in gratifying the taste of their wealthy few for cleanliness compatible with ease and show. Water works, sewers and pavements, now as then, cater not only to advanced standards of comfort and of æsthetic sensitiveness, but "partly," as a Roman writer suggested, to the health of poor and rich alike.

Commerce was a conscious and a rebellious sufferer from the mediæval theory of the divine origin of disease. Passive resistance did not prevent scourges in A.D. 550, 1000, 1345-56, 1485, 1528, 1665, that numbered victims by thousands, even millions. A ship sent to the Orient for precious goods would return with the plague, death and financial ruin. Monastic institutions, centres of mediæval intelligence and goodness, were not able to help, for they made it their business to preach submission to pestilence and to practise what they preached. By an interesting coincidence the foremost maritime city, Venice, and the foremost guild town, Cologne, began in the same year, 1348, a reaction against everlasting filth, the one by quarantine of maritime traffic, the other by systematic

cleaning of streets. Similarly, commercial motives started the first board of health in the United States. The merchant, not the doctor, demands good roads and passable streets for our country towns. Merchants may be easily taught that the efficiency of their city in promoting health adds to the purchasing power of their customers, and to the demand for their goods. Likewise every physician but a quack can be made to see that healthy patients are able to pay larger fees than those who, because of constant need of repair, never know the joy and the profit of vitality.

The *municipal* motives for efficient health work differ from the *personal*, *sanitary*, *commerce* motives not so much in kind as in complexity of causes. Whereas in the three early stages the group is control of a whole city or prominently took steps to protect or relieve the governing few, the municipal code has been since the first designed to protect one individual against another or harm or restraint of the acts or inaction of another. When all men do the same thing, no one takes no notice of no series unless they do physical violence to person or property. In towns where every thrifty householder keeps a cow, a horse, and a pig to consume the surplus from his own table, waste and pigginess are not no series. On the contrary, they proudly front the street to advertise the prosperity of their owners. But when, later, the leading merchant, the teacher, minister, and physician require that stables be the rear of the lot, all stables on

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the street become a nuisance to them. Thanks to rising standards of living and to scientific discoveries, the stratification—one might almost say streetification—of society has extended the two or three mediæval nuisances, until our present list of acts, properties and enterprises that are nuisances and injurious to health fills hundreds of pages. The law gives to every citizen the right to make complaint, and if he can prove that a neighbour is injuring his health he can secure abatement. Unfortunately the standard of living of the greater part of our population is still so low that only the few protest against the nuisances co-existent with a low standard of vitality.

Anti-slum interest cannot exist where there is no geographical division between the clean and the unclean, the infected and the non-infected, orderly and the disorderly, high and low vitality. The danger must be definitely located,—a cloud visible on the horizon. There can obviously be no anti-slum feeling against one's equals. Louis the Grand and Queen Bess lived next door to filth that to-day would be regarded as a nuisance and a menace by the humblest slum denizens of New York. Yet so far have tastes developed with knowledge of danger that the wealthy few in that city are running away as fast and as far as possible from the annoyance and danger of contact with the slum. A great part of the health code is designed to protect those of high income against disease incident to low income; high vitality against low vitality; the

... upon anti-slum
... to help the
... atrocious to
... from sweet girls
... an object
... a broken leg.
... impulse to
... a huge cloud.
... awak-
... Help! and philanthropic meas-

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ures are no longer taken by uptown against the slum in the interest of uptown, but for the slum in the interest of the slum.

Religion in its highest sense marks the seventh and final stage, when health measures express on one hand the *right* of the slum for its own sake to health and to opportunity, and on the other hand the *duty* of all men belonging to the same environment to give their share of thought and property necessary to insure such health and opportunity. Pure milk is demanded not to afford either protection or Lady Bountiful motives to the well-to-do, but because every baby born has a right to milk that will give, not take, life. Fevers are controlled not to avoid infection of the rich, not to prevent commercial loss, not to contribute to the peace of mind of uptown, but because poor as well as rich have a right to protection against preventable disease.

The highest degree of efficiency in promoting health is found where this seventh stage is reached. Not all communities have arrived; nor have all men. Man's chief guide from stage to stage has until recently been Pestilence and Calamity. So helpful is the vivid impression made by a large number of persons dying in the same place at one time, of the same cause, that world-famed sanitarians, not skilled in the use of the statistical method of massing facts, frequently lament the passing of the old-time smallpox epidemic, "lest we forget." The first board of health in Pennsyl-



vania followed the yellow fever outbreak in 1794; its state board of health was the product of a typhoid epidemic (1885), and the more recent attempt (1906) to secure efficiency by means of adequate support and re-organisation followed two epidemics of smallpox

**PITTSBURG IS IN
GRIP OF TYPHOID
WITH 1,000 CASES**

FI

To

THE SHAME OF SCRANTON.

ate ras alt for or- ific he no	The heroic efforts of the Scranton authorities to check the epidemic of typhoid in that city would deserve more praise if a modicum of the present energy had been directed in the first place to the prevention of infection. A polluted water supply in a modern city having all the resources of sanitary science at its
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and typhoid. The time will never come when ten deaths will cut as deep a groove in the brain of the selfish or indifferent neighbour as one thousand deaths, or when headlines like above fail to agitate the

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mind. But for those communities and individuals who have reached the stage where obligation to promote health is measured by man's right as man to healthful occupation and healthful home surroundings the reiteration of facts as to preventable disease and its causes is an effectual substitute for catastrophe and a sufficient stimulus to efficient health administration.

In two important fields, facts have recently served notice that Catastrophe's leadership must decline. I refer to the organisation of national committees for the prevention of tuberculosis and for the protection of the workingman's child. These committees have nearly all the advantages of Catastrophe—they mass their evidence—and have in addition vast superiority in point of constancy. You see, a speaker in Alabama is armed with the figures for the entire country and with all the momentum of an organisation having members in every city and state. Likewise the lecturer on tuberculosis stops counting the losses in Baltimore or Illinois and holds up the appalling sacrifice of men and women in all states due to the preventable and curable disease—tuberculosis. Instead of waiting for a fire or tornado or deluge or collision, they artificially produce the same startling, convincing result by turning on the light of a nation's experience. If the protectionists were so foolish as to approach Nebraska farmers with the statistics of their own counties unadulterated by the interest of eastern industrial states, they would without doubt lose Nebraska's electoral vote.

The successful methods of the most efficient sanitarian are applicable by the average layman and average physician to the simplest village or rural conditions. Whether your community has taken one or all of these necessary steps is a matter of fact and may be determined by taking your desire to know to the reports of work done by its department of health. Sanitary codes reflect not steps taken but ideals defined. Efficiency is made of more permanent and sterner stuff, and is impossible unless the ingredients of the statistical remedy are used for each of the following essential steps:

1. Notification of danger when first it is recognised by whomever recognised.
2. Registration at a central office of facts as to each dangerous thing or person.
3. Examination of the seat of danger to discover its extent, its cost and new seats of danger created by it.
4. Isolation of the dangerous thing or person.
5. Constant attention to prevent extension to other persons or things.
6. Destruction or removal of disease germs or other causes of danger.
7. Analysis and record, for future use, of lessons learned by experience.
8. Education of the public to understand its relation to danger checked or removed, its responsibility for preventing a recurrence of the same danger and the importance of promptly recognising and checking similar danger elsewhere.

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The prompt execution of these steps has added twenty years to the average life; has decreased infant mortality from one in two to one in seven or ten; has made smallpox less frequent and less virulent than measles; has recently delivered Havana and New Orleans from yellow fever, as earlier it banished that scourge from New York and Philadelphia and other scourges from the populous centres of northern Europe; has proved the possibility of wiping out consumption. Neglect to take these steps caused the death of more soldiers in our Civil War than were killed by bullets and sabres. The military indorsement of these simple principles reduced Japan's loss from disease in her war with Russia to one for every fourteen killed or disabled in battle, a record that causes us to blush for that of the United States in her war with Spain. Finally the civilised world has been educated to reject the divine origin of transmissible diseases, to attribute death from such diseases to official neglect and to expect health officials to point the way to their complete extirpation.

Such achievement would have been impossible had sanitarians not counted, compared, classified, summarised, before they talked.

Laymen themselves can readily learn all they need to know in order to ask intelligent questions about health administration. But the superstition must be outgrown that words like *healthy, sick, disease, inspection* mean anything in particular. They must keep scarlet

fever in a different pocket from mumps, separating babies from school children, children from adults, July from January, arrests from fines, codes from performance. They must not be taken in by numerators alone, but should demand the denominator:

$$\frac{\text{babies died}}{\text{babies died who might have died}}; \text{ or } \frac{\text{babies that might have been saved}}{\text{babies died}}; \text{ or } \frac{\text{babies sick}}{\text{babies living}}$$

Weekly death rates mean nothing, for they do not show "the long run." Many health statements are given out in the optimistic spirit of a little girl who at 8 A.M. interrupted her swing on the gate and her violent joy,—“I have been a good girl all day.” There are a number of precautions that experts need take that taxpayers can learn by studying Newsholme’s *Vital Statistics*. For practical purposes it is enough to ask health officers for results and to insist upon comparative tables, percentages, summaries, diagrammatic statements and reports that interpret in an interesting way their story.

Theoretical opposition to each forward move has been made by advocates of individual freedom and defenders of the CONSTITUTION. Facts answer through Huxley,—“If my neighbour’s drains create a poisonous atmosphere which I breathe at the risk of diphtheria, he risks my freedom to live just as much as if



HERMANN M. BIGGS, M.D.

As medical officer of health for New York City Dr. Biggs secured the compulsory notification of cases of tuberculosis, a form of efficient publicity that was bitterly condemned, but quickly imitated. More recently he has declared that the thorough physical examination of school children will surpass in results all previous sanitary reforms.



he went about with a pistol threatening my life." Spencer said that state prevention of unsanitary conditions would prevent the survival of the fittest; facts answer that the tests of fitness under healthful conditions are more vigorous and more numerous than where filth and preventable disease abound. Dr. Hermann M. Biggs was declared a revolutionist for introducing compulsory notification of tuberculosis in New York City; facts have proved him a statesman,—saviour of thousands of lives and the most effective enemy of the white plague. So well have health facts been marshalled that the law of civilised countries enjoins health officers to use force, if necessary, to protect our neighbours against our carelessness or misfortune. It will protect us even against our will, making free with our persons by removal to hospital, by quarantine, vaccination, visiting our homes at any hour of the day or night, examining our children for physical defects. It makes free with our property, orders repairs of buildings, places restrictions on new buildings, condemns houses that are unfit for human habitation, destroys impure milk, prevents child labour, refuses work certificates if children are physically unfit, compels use of hard coal instead of soft coal, inspects food, supervises the sale of milk and the preparation of meats and takes taxes to conduct free clinics and hospitals. The only defence for these autocratic powers is,—Facts prove them beneficial to society as a whole; they save vastly more than they

cost; cities that exercise these powers are more healthful and prosperous than before they exercised them.

Without the discovery of another germ or germicide, without another legal definition of nuisance or of interference with health, our present code if efficiently administered could effect the practical elimination of transmissible disease. The supreme need is for the constant application of knowledge and powers already possessed to conditions in every part of the land, farm-yard as well as city, by every responsible administrative unit, township, city, county, state, nation. As the interests to be protected have gone beyond any one class, so the remedies to be applied are beyond the gift of any one class. Because administration cannot rise above a community's appreciation of its benefits, the enlightened interest of lawyer and magistrate, teacher, capitalist and day labourer is quite as essential to sanitary progress as the technique of physician, chemist and bacteriologist. Experts, officials and employers may be depended upon to ask the right questions, to keep proper records and to render efficient service in promoting health, if laymen ask the right questions:

As to Yourself

Do you know what your city, county, state and nation pretend to do for health protection?

Do you ever read health reports?

Do you know the responsible health officers?

Have you thought that preventable disease in your neighbourhood affected your comfort, your health, your income and its purchasing power?

The Layman's Responsibility 75

Do you understand how germ diseases are transmitted and why they are eradicable?

Have you counted the cost to your community of the following common diseases that are unnecessary and preventable: Scarlet fever, typhoid, measles, whooping cough, smallpox, tuberculosis, grip, diphtheria, yellow fever?

Are you in the habit of estimating the happiness and misery of your community by the increase or decrease in its death rate from preventable causes?

Do you know the districts where preventable diseases are most active?

Does your local health officer regard himself as a statesman responsible for improving vitality in your community or as a mere pill mixer and scavenger? Can he compile and interpret statistics? Can he make a "life table"?

Have you ever made known your interest in public health to your neighbours and to the health officer?

As to the Health Program

Are you getting your money's worth from the national government so long as "thousands are expended in stamping out cholera among swine, but not one dollar was ever voted for eradicating pneumonia among human beings"? Will you help secure a National Board of Health?

Do otherwise reputable physicians oppose the health department on the ground that it interferes with their profits?

Does your city pretend to control and prevent infection?

Are employees so classified as to show that the exec-

utive officer clearly understands how to work out the program?

Does the county inspect sources of water and milk?

Are city and county protected against one another's neglect by state inspection of water and milk sources, and by state intervention to prevent nuisance, to provide quarantine, etc., when towns and cities are neglectful?

Does the state make known throughout its limits the facts as to disease centres, comparing town with town, disease with disease, this year with last year?

Are local and state health boards adequately supported?

As to Health Reports

Are they weekly, monthly, quarterly, annually, or never?

Are they interesting as well as intelligible?

Are they generally circulated? Do newspapers quote and interpret?

Are comparative tables and percentages used to show whether preventable diseases are checked or neglected?

Are charts and diagrams used, comparing district with district?

Are changes interpreted and causes sought?

Is work not done clearly shown?

Are taxpayers' interest and duty emphasised?

As to Your Own District

Where are the centres of infection?

How many cases of sickness?

How many deaths?

Are conditions better or worse than last year?

Asking Questions But a First Step 77

Where are the chronic nuisances, unclean streets, overcrowded tenements?

How many babies died because of impure milk?

How often were milk shops visited; how many quarts were destroyed; how many samples were taken for analysis as to presence of disease germs; how many dealers were arrested; were they fined, imprisoned or acquitted; what fines were imposed?

Did inspections increase as temperature and danger rose?

Did your district get its share of inspectors and of attention from the Department?

Were houses disinfected after infection? Promptly or tardily?

Were infected children promptly detected and excluded from school?

Asking questions is but the first step toward efficiency. Obviously, if one goes no farther he will be utterly inefficient in promoting health, although possibly quite proficient as a sociologist or pedagogue. It just happens, however, that communities that ask questions of health officers are well protected. There seems to be something about that first step, a question as to health, that impels officer and public alike to make efficient use of the answer. Few people in dealing with life and death dare to be indifferent or slothful, if standing under an arc light.

The various efficiency steps are being newly taken by New York City in the interest of physically defective school children. For years a hurried inspection of pupils by physicians has cut down greatly sickness

and absence because of trachoma and so-called children's diseases. Two years ago a thorough examination of a few hundred children was made as to points on the following facsimile card:

\$19-267, 150,000 (F)

PHYSICAL RECORD.

\$7 K-1900

P. S. 8 Chas. La. Date 11-7-06Name Toby Thexte Age 4 Address 65 Caroline

1. Nutr.	B. <u>N</u>	10. Def. Nas. Breath,	<u>Y. N</u>
2. Enl. Cerv. Gl.	<u>{ Y. N</u>	11. Teeth,	<u>B. N</u>
3. Chorea,	<u>{ A. N</u>	12. Deform. Palat.	<u>X. N.</u>
4. Card. Dia.	<u>Y. N.</u>	13. Hyper. Tons.	<u>Y. N</u>
5. Fulm. Dia.	<u>Y. N.</u>	14. P. Nas. Growths,	<u>Y. N</u>
6. Skin Dis.	<u>Y. N</u>	15. Mentality	<u>B. N</u>
7. Def. <u>{ Spine,</u>	<u>Y. N.</u>	16. Treat. necessary	<u>Y. N</u>
<u>{ Chest,</u>	<u>Y. N.</u>	17. Nationality: <u>Italy</u>	
<u>{ Extrem.</u>	<u>Y. N.</u>		

Remarks: Eczema - face, trachoma
Hyperphoria Phinitis
Dull & stupid Insp.
Med. Insp.

{ Subj. Obs. D 40
Y. N. 0 5 20
X. N. 30

O. H. Jones

The New York Physical Record Card 79

So many were found to have one or more troubles needing attention that the first results were doubted. When more experienced physicians re-examined these same children they found a still larger proportion needing treatment. Examinations were continued until November 1, 1906, with results that raised serious questions when presented graphically.

601,800 children now registered in the public schools of N.Y. City. 6% are
100,000 already physically examined. undernourished.

10% have
post-nasal
growths.

1/3 (66,000) need medical or surgical attention or better nourishment.

Two-fifths need dental care.

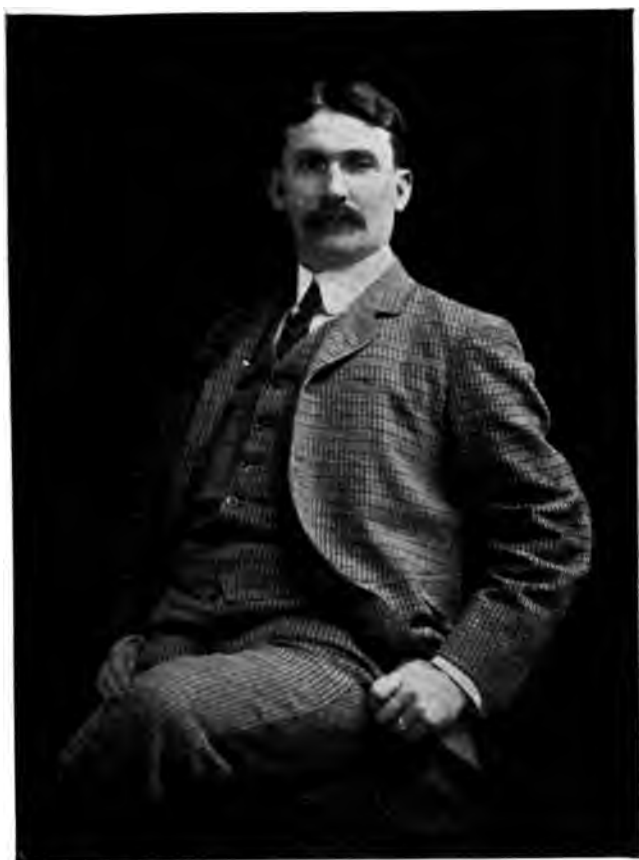
18% have enlarged tonsils.

33% have enlarged cervical glands.

31% have defective vision.

If the children examined were representative, there must then be 400,000 children who are not only unable to take full advantage of their educational opportunity, but are also hampering others who have no physical defects. The parochial and charitable schools and the streets must have 200,000 others in need of attention not now given. Furthermore several hundred thousand children have gone to work during the last few years who are now industrially handicapped, as they were handicapped during their school days, by removable physical defects. But are those examined representative? The city wants to know, just as every teacher in the United States will some day want to know, whether or not her children are

struggling against defects that may be corrected as soon as she or a school physican speaks to the parent or to a charitable society. Facts already gathered strengthened the demand for examination of all children in all boroughs instead of a part of the children in one borough; \$250,000 was voted for such use in 1907, one-third less than was needed. Meanwhile facts are being gathered to show not only what the neglected children suffer, but what children examined and helped gain from removal of defects and what the city gains by making it possible for children to pass on with their class instead of spending two or more years in each grade. Soon facts will prove conclusively that the examination of all children in all boroughs would cost much less than the city is now paying to correct evils and check infection that examination would prevent. The Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children is, as per p. 81, examining the home conditions of children found to be physically defective to learn whether the cause is ignorance, deficient income or misdirected income. The results are fast proving the need for education of mothers at their homes in the care of children, preparation of food, ventilation of homes, etc. They will further show that the European method of correcting physical defects—lunches in school at public expense—fails to improve home conditions, to provide for the child not yet in school, or to enable the mother to use knowledge disclosed by physical examination.



JOHN J. CRONIN, M.D.

To Dr. Cronin's initiative, as assistant chief medical inspector, New York Health Department, more than to any other one person in the United States, is due the recent awakening to the importance to schools and to industry of the thorough physical examination of school children.



Investigation of Home Conditions 81

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ P. S. _____ GRADE _____ INDEX _____

SOS. OF H. AND ED. REPORT FOR HUT _____ ENL. GL. _____ TEETH _____ EYES _____ EARS _____ NOSE _____ THROAT _____ CHOR. _____ OTHER _____

NATIONALITY		RACE	YEARS IN U. S.	IN N. Y. C.	OCCUPATION	INCOME
FATHER						
MOTHER						

OTHER		CHILDREN: LIVING	AGE	B	G
ADULTS					
LODGERS OR					
BOARDERS					

FATHER AND MOTHER: LUNG TROUBLE _____ ALC. _____ INVALIDISM _____ FAMILY DOCTOR Y. _____ N. _____ DISPENSARY Y. _____ N. _____ DENTIST Y. _____ N. _____

DEAD: F., M., CAUSE _____ AGE _____ MOTHER: MISCAR. _____ INVALIDISM _____

OTHER CHILDREN: LUNG TROUBLE _____ BONE TROUBLE _____ NERVOUS AFFECTIONS _____

DEAD: CAUSE AND AGE _____

CHILD: SEX B. _____ G. _____ BORN: YR. _____ MO. _____ BIRTHPLACE _____ CHILD NUMBER _____ BIRTH: INSTRU. _____

LAB. HRS. _____ NURSED: MOS. _____ ARTIFIC. FED. _____ WORKED OUT 1ST YR. MOS. _____ CONVUL. _____ MEAS. _____ SCAR. F. _____ DIPH. _____ BRON. CHR. _____ AC. _____

RHEU. _____ MENIN. _____ WHOOPING-C. _____ PNEU. _____ HEAD INJ. _____ OTHER INJ. _____ SLEEP: (AVG) FROM _____ TO _____

FOOD: BREAKFAST _____

NOON _____

NIGHT _____

ROOMS: NO. _____ (BATH _____) SHOP _____) DARK _____ RENT _____ REF. AS UNSAN. _____ WINDOWS: NO. OUTSIDE _____ AIRSHAWT _____ HALL _____

REMARKS _____

DATE _____ SIGNATURE _____

COMMITTEE ON PHYSICAL WELFARE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

Official and volunteer facts put together prove conclusively the need and the practicability of efficient co-operation of school and health authorities with existing private agencies on the basis of indisputable facts. Future efficiency demands of the three parties concerned in this co-operation that their reports show progress made, and results gained for pupil, for taxpayer and for school.

The efficiency of the State in promoting health is in direct proportion as it employs the methods outlined. Why should efficiency tests—the statistical method—be less serviceable or less reputable when applied to treatment in hospitals?

VI

Hospital Efficiency

HOSPITALS must not only know themselves what each item of service costs, but they must show the public that they know, and they must enable the public also to know. It is our judgment that the hospitals themselves have it in their power, by moving along this line, to tap sources of popular support that will be adequate to any need.

These are neither the words of carping critics, dreaming theorists, statistical fiends, nor the superficial judgment of men with only a passing interest in hospital needs. On the contrary, they are two sentences from the final report to the hospitals of Greater New York by a committee¹ appointed March 23, 1905, by

¹Committee on Hospital Needs and Hospital Finances: chairman, John E. Parsons, president of General Memorial and Woman's Hospitals; John Winters Brannan, M.D., president of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals; T. O. Callender, representing Brooklyn hospitals; Professor Frederick A. Cleveland, expert on finance; ex-Mayor Seth Low; Hoffman Miller, secretary of St. Luke's Hospital; Thomas N. Mulry, representing Roman Catholic hospitals; Leonard E. Opdycke, Sea Breeze Hospital; Frederick Sturges, president of the Hospital for the Ruptured and Crippled; Frank Tucker, finance expert; John A. Wyeth, M.D., president of the Polyclinic Hospital; secretary, William H. Allen, general agent of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

a conference of over twoscore hospitals, to consider means of increasing hospital support.

For months the hospitals of New York City had been advertising annual deficits of from \$1,000 to \$90,000, aggregating nearly \$750,000; for lack of funds, wards were being closed, out-patient work curtailed or postponed, obvious needs neglected; charges of extravagance and abuse were given wholesale currency, even though emanating from untrustworthy sources; certain physicians who were denied the privilege of practising in hospitals attributed deficit and censure to the monopoly enjoyed by certain other physicians charged with running the hospitals for the benefit of their private practice; one newspaper attack followed another, editorial strictures supporting letters and interviews with patients and contributors. Instead of the convincing reply that the beneficent work of the hospitals justified, there was silent disdain, reference to the respectability and self-sacrifice of hospital managers, or appeals for more funds. Hospital reports lacked uniformity and clearness as to receipts and expenses, hence threw little light upon the real situation, and furnished shaky ground for meeting public criticism. One writer, exasperated by the hospitals' supine helplessness, asked: "If these hospitals have right on their side, why do they not show it?"

To divert the attention of press and contributor from minor defects to inestimable service and urgent

Conference on Hospital Needs 85

need, a conference was called by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, on the ground that the city's poor suffer most from hospital deficits. Over forty hospitals were officially represented by managers, superintendents, and auxiliary committees. In addition were delegates from relief societies, dispensaries, churches, and social settlements. The published program directed discussion to the following methods that various hospital presidents had suggested for improving the financial condition of private hospitals:

To Increase Revenues.—Educate the public to give more; arouse the public by personal rather than formal appeals; induce pastors of all denominations to speak more freely and more frequently of giving; strengthen the central appealing body; create for each hospital a roll of regular annual contributors; let the city increase the rate for free patients; undertake by common action to raise an adequate endowment; prove that present revenues are economically expended.

To Decrease Expenditures.—Secure future enlargement of facilities through inexpensive house-to-house treatment rather than through additional hospitals or additional wards; find out how much hospital work ought to cost, and keep within the standard.

To Make Information Available.—Exchange freely experience as to expenses and revenues.

Before adjourning, the conference asked its chair-

man, Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, to appoint a committee to consider hospital needs and hospital finances. This committee of hospital officers, contributors, finance experts, worked for fifteen months; studied the hospital experience of American and European cities; submitted in November, 1905, tentative suggestions as to practicable economies, accounting, and support that elicited helpful comment from a large number of hospital officers and physicians; and finally, June 1, 1906, recommended unanimously but one remedy for deficits, extravagance, obsolete methods, lack of public interest—*more light*.

Many managers looked askance at the proposed remedy,—uniform, up-to-date system of accounts and reports. “What! remove a deficit by expending more money on statistics?” One manager condensed into a paradox the doubt, opposition, and fatalism that pervaded many boards: “Few hospitals can afford to keep competent bookkeepers.” Fortunately, there were other hospital managers able to answer from their own hospital experience: *No hospital is rich enough to afford an incompetent bookkeeper. No hospital is too poor to afford proof that it is run on an economical basis consistent with efficiency in treatment. No hospital is too poor to spend \$5 in saving \$10 or in making out a case that will secure a gift of \$100. The methods and needs of our hospitals are misunderstood; the only way to remove misunderstanding is to produce understanding.*

The arguments for more light gained weight from the fact that managers were willing to admit the extravagant tendencies of physicians who "seem to think that materials do not cost anything," and "that their gratuitous service gives them license to throw economy to the winds." During the discussion physicians of high rank in several hospitals vied with each other in telling stories of mismanagement and admitted that they used two, four, or eight times the material in hospitals that they did in their private practice. The defence of such volunteer supervision as is possible where there is no proper accounting was answered by a hospital president: Our American system is all right from the point of view of training physicians and nurses, but all wrong from the point of view of hospital management.

Managers who feared that more light would cost too much, or would lead to unfair comparison, were told by others in such phrases as follow of savings and earnings effected by improved accounting: cost of fence reduced 50 per cent.;—saving of coal, \$6,000;—\$150 a week on linen bandages alone;—13 per cent. saved on provisions by checking store-room;—thousands saved on drug bill;—we hope to regain the confidence of our benevolent people, lost because of former extravagance and inability to prove effort to economise.

Editorial comment in medical and in hospital journals, as well as in the secular press, showed a general

conviction throughout the country that hospitals ought to tell the public more—ought first to want to know more themselves—about the efficiency and economy of their physicians, their superintendents, their nurses, and the managers themselves. A university dean wrote: "A general impression is gaining ground that the funds invested by a community in social betterment should be more carefully husbanded and more efficiently applied." Newspaper editorials gave wise counsel: "If a dozen hospitals should unite in submitting themselves to professional advice regarding their accounts, and should publish such certification of methods and results, every presumption would favour those so acting in comparison with those neglecting such simple means of fortifying themselves in public esteem."—"Where there is no accounting, there is no responsibility and no contentment."—"Managers should maintain their positions, not because they are estimable gentlemen, but because of their efficiency in the performance of the duties they are expected to perform."

It is made extremely difficult to discuss the efficiency of volunteer hospital boards, because their service is voluntary, and because it is true that hospitals managed by them have been more efficient, as a rule, than hospitals managed by paid (political) boards. It is intended to contrast here, not a noble-minded philanthropist with a party worker, or a well-managed private hospital with a badly managed public office;

but rather is it hoped to indicate that in judging philanthropist as well as political appointee the essential test is not the kind of man, not the kind of compensation, but the kind of service rendered.

The reluctance to adopt at once the *more light* remedy is traceable partly to inertia, partly to the goodness fallacy, and partly to the estimable-gentleman-man-of-affairs tradition in hospital management. What more should the public need to know than that "hospital boards are under the direction of managers recruited by natural selections from our best citizens?" To challenge the efficiency of these naturally (mutually) selected best citizens, to insinuate that any shortcomings could offset benevolent inattention, or gratuitous and self-sacrificing service, seems almost ungrateful. Are not hospital boards made up mainly of men who have won great success in their own business, "men to whom you would gladly intrust your fortune for investment?" It certainly seems strange that a man who has been able in law or business to gain foremost rank in his community should not be thoroughly efficient in managing a small affair like a hospital. If you add to this man's business prowess that of his fifteen or thirty fellow-directors, you have, indeed, a strong combination of intelligence, interest, and potential efficiency. They give lavishly of experience, judgment, time, and study that in the world of commerce would be worth thousands and hundred of thousands of dollars. Is not, therefore, the mere suggestion of ineffi-

ciency in their management of hospitals an indictment of their own business integrity or acumen?

Fortunately it is not. The successful lawyer does not expect every man he meets to approve his golf-playing, his singing, or his choice of ties. To say that a man swims badly, is a poor tennis player, talks too much, laughs too often, jokes too freely, works too hard, is never accepted as an indictment of his business ability. Few bankers or lawyers would accept responsibility for the successful management, during their spare hours, of a department store or a theatre. But for some reason the man who knows the stock market from *A* to *Z* expects his colleagues and the world at large to believe that because he is a director he must know from *A* to *Z* the business of running a hospital, school, charitable society, or church. It is not sufficiently appreciated that this lawyer, or broker, or merchant is applying entirely different methods and tests in his hospital work—methods that would wreck his own business and lose him every client over night. Men whose affairs are organised on the principle that a \$100 clerk should never be permitted to do the work of a \$30 messenger will go into a hospital and spend their time on routine inspection, making estimates, counting details. The serious aspect of this situation is not so much that the directors' energy is wasted, as that the work itself is poorly and sporadically done. Because many directors do not apply the

Testing Efficiency of Directors 91

efficiency test to their own connection with hospital management, or because so many have a false and misleading standard of trusteeship, false and misleading standards are applied to the work of the various departments of a particular hospital, to the hospital as a whole, and to all of the hospitals in a community viewed as one group that ought to be disclosing and attacking the conditions that make for sickness and depleted vitality.

The director has a ticker in his office, showing changes of the market; keeps a double-entry set of books with indexes galore to enable him to tell instantly where his business stands to-day as compared with yesterday and the day before; and never dreams of trusting the memory of a clerk or a colleague as to the result of the year's business. So eager is the efficient business man to learn from his own mistakes and from the success of his competitors that patents and copyrights are granted to protect initiative and originality. Yet this same efficient business man, metamorphosed into recognised success as director, loses his avidity; governs the hospital without analysing his own and his colleagues' experience; accepts from a hospital superintendent or treasurer a summary of the year's work that does not show where the hospital stood at the beginning of the year, how far it has travelled, in what direction it is going, what needs it has met, what needs it has failed to meet. He feels toward himself and associates as one hospital presi-

dent felt toward his superintendent: "It is enough for me to know that Mr. X is there."

Mr. A is officer of two hospitals. He would be unwilling to say that he is more interested in one than in the other; that he has been more intelligent or more efficient in one than in the other. Hospital A is successful, hospital B is unsuccessful in securing donations, though the work of the latter has the stronger appealing power. Hospital A is celebrated for its efficient management; hospital B has not the same reputation; in fact, it is not long since serious difficulties, involving both waste and infidelity, were discovered. What is the difference? It just happens that in hospital A there is an up-to-date mechanism for applying the efficiency test to the work of every department and of every officer, including the directors themselves; in hospital B there is no such test. The difference is not due to the character of the trustees, for in hospital A, prior to the employment of a business doctor, the same conditions existed as in hospital B.

A similar discrepancy exists in the case of another prominent officer of hospital B, who happens also to be officer of a charitable institution that always obtains support and—is it by chance?—uses methods that would be creditable to a railroad.

A superintendent who is not able to control the dietary of his hospital maintains that the waste would support a ward of forty beds. Another says that "barrels of good food" are thrown away every day.

A young surgeon recently ordered instruments costing \$500; he had checked from a catalogue all the things that he thought it would be "nice" to have. An officer of a hospital that protests indignantly against the insinuation that its business methods need revision, visited a western hospital and now regales his friends with the story of how "the ideas I brought back with me save thousands of dollars annually for my hospital." A secretary becomes interested in the drug supply, and by insisting upon a monthly report saves enough to maintain one ward. A ventilating apparatus, costing enough to build a ward, is found, too late, to be unsuitable. One storeroom has reduced by \$150 a week the cost of linen bandages without the surgeons having noticed any reduction in the supply. Even conservative directors protest against the G. P. fetish—the domination of the Grateful Patient whose generosity erects handsome memorials without providing funds to meet the additional burdens imposed.

That such things should occur in hospitals is not at all surprising, and is not at all occasion for criticism; but for them to exist without being detected by the directors or by superintendents, or by a prospective giver wishing to make sure that his gift will be well invested, is reason for disquietude. On my desk are a number of hospital reports. In one a giver can find the number, age, and sex of cases treated, and whether care was given in the hospital or at home, for sixty-two different diseases; all about operations on one hun-

dred different parts of the body ; number cured, improved, unimproved, and died. Of expense he finds just one item: "hospital expenditures, \$100,000." Not a word as to how the money was spent ; how the total compares with last year ; what work it was impossible to do ; what new needs were disclosed ; how much went for care of the buildings ; how much for care of patients, for annual report, etc. The giver is told, however, that a considerable percentage of the cost was met by consuming endowment. Scores of millions and unsurpassed executive ability are represented on the board of managers, whose principal officers happen also to be officers of other societies that publish excellent reports.

The second report gives nearly one hundred pages to tabulation of details regarding every conceivable disease ; the dietary is given ; in the list of contributions in kind are cut flowers, ice, crockery, toys, and magazines. But nowhere does this report show the number of beds ; what it costs to maintain a bed in the surgical department, in the general ward, or in the babies' ward ; or the cost of kitchen or laboratory. It does not explain how a bed may be endowed in perpetuity for \$5,000, yielding \$225 annually, when it costs four times that sum to keep a patient in that bed. One cannot learn what proportion of provisions went to the attendants, who number 30 per cent. more per day than patients ; what it costs to keep a private patient ; how much money the hospital needs next year ; the



Where Efficiency Tests Are Lacking 95

total of the endowment fund; what efforts were made to obtain the current donations that paid the cost of the hospital for only eighteen out of 365 days. There is no asset or liability account, no showing of work done and of funds disbursed in the different months. Yet this hospital is widely known for its excellent medical service, as well as for its deficits and urgent needs not met.

Two other reports tell all about fasciotomies, carcinoma ventriculi, nationality and dress of patients, distribution of provisions, etc.; but neither tells how much it costs to support a patient a day or a week; what endowment is required to pay the entire expense of supporting a bed in perpetuity; what proportion the cost of maintaining of free beds is borne by public subsidy; what fraction of the day's treatment given is wholly free; how much certain or pledged income the hospital has. Not one summarises the facts published so as to show the direction in which it is going with respect to classes of patient or of expense. Yet these reports are vastly superior to the average hospital report, and the hospitals for which they plead are among the foremost of their kind in the world. Each reports current expenses in excess of current income by many thousands of dollars. Each consumes endowment and legacy, whereas it is supposed to use only the interest on those funds. In this respect, too, they are typical of private hospitals throughout the world.

For the Hospital Conference above referred to a



comparative digest was prepared, showing, so far as was possible from the reports of twenty-six general hospitals, fifteen special hospitals, and ten women's and children's hospitals, what degree of uniformity existed as to 120 items. This number, 120, consists of significant facts that one hospital or another found it of importance to record. Many hospitals failed to give even the total patient days, few gave the percentage of free days and the endowed bed days; several of the important hospitals did not give even the number of patients; only a half-dozen gave the largest number of patients at one time, and not half gave the average number of patients per day; eleven of the fifty-one gave the gross cost per patient per day, one the cost of food per patient per day; five, the number of days' board given employees; two, the cost of private patients. A half-dozen analysed receipts to show the relative importance of different sources of income. Few broke up the item of income into its component parts to show of contributions how much was due to donations, membership dues, subscriptions, entertainments and fairs, church collection boxes, auxiliary collections; how much from the city or from the Saturday and Sunday Hospital Association; how much of permanent investment was wiped out for current uses; how much of hospital receipts came from ward patients, private-room patients, special nursing, board of non-patients, use of operating-room, etc.; of dispensary receipts, how much from fees, and from

sales of drugs; how much from ambulance, or from out patients for services and supplies.

But, however detailed and satisfactory the report of any individual hospital, it can tell but part of its story unless given in the same language as that of other hospitals doing similar work. It is said that we learn most by imitation. At least it is true that we learn much by observing our colleagues, whether in the factory doing piece work, in the shop buying silk, in business selling goods, or as trustees administering a hospital. Having learned what we can by examining carefully our own hospitals, it is important to learn whether or not *our* house physician, *our* superintendent, *our* building, *our* situation, are bringing results comparable with those of hospitals that appeal to the same public to support the same kind of work.

Entirely apart from the importance of learning how to reduce expenditure so as to keep pace with the best thought in the hospital world, it is also necessary to be able to explain differences in expense, showing that they are due to differences in kind of work or in quality of material rather than to differences in spirit or in practice of economy. An Italian patient coming to a hospital is helped if he can speak English, or if there is an Italian-speaking person in connection with the hospital, or if a friendly Italian happens to be there at the time, or perhaps by signs. In any event, the only way the hospital and the Italian patient can work together to aid that patient is to

discover somewhere a common language. Is it not quite as important that ten hospitals discussing their experience should use the same language?

The first step in what bids fair to become a revolution in the attitude of American hospitals toward actual and potential givers was taken in New York in June, 1906, when four of the leading hospitals¹ agreed upon a common form of recording and publishing important facts as to efficiency and as to needs.

Because this plan furnishes the basis for a publicity campaign in behalf of all American hospitals, and because it is the Big Four's response to the agitation of the past two years, its headings are given in full at the end of this chapter.

There is not a hospital in the country that could not describe its experience and its needs in the language provided by these schedules. Wherever managers want to answer questions not here asked, it is easy to insert a new sub-heading. It is quite conceivable that many managers will not care to distinguish medical from surgical supplies, or milk and cream from butter and eggs; in this case the general headings may still be used and should be used, as should the comparative tables. Uniformity would still exist if hospitals having few patients, needing little public help, and desiring to learn little from their own or others' experience, should put all expenditures under the general heads.

¹New York, Presbyterian, Roosevelt, St. Luke's. See p. 104.



FRANK TUCKER

**Lecturer and writer on the relation of records and accounts to
the efficiency of hospitals and other charitable enterprises.**



	1905	1906
Administration expenses		
Professional care of patients		
Department expenses		
General house and property expenses		
Corporation or other expenses		

The cost of making this separation is a trifle, because it is quite as easy to post an expenditure of \$10 on one sheet as on another, and infinitely more valuable to have it posted where it answers an important question.

Two additions will undoubtedly be made as time tests this uniform schedule—viz.: a column showing *increase or decrease*, and a column for *percentages*. The purpose of reports is to *inform*; the purpose of uniformity is to enable the public to use one language in studying the needs of different hospitals and to enable each hospital to learn from others' experience; the comparison of this year with last shows whether each department of each hospital is going forward or backward, or standing still. But even directors seldom make the actual subtraction necessary to see that \$22,418 is \$2,545 greater than \$19,873. When that is done, still fewer would discover that the increase is 11 per cent. We deem it of great importance to know that a poor family pays 25 per cent. for rent and 45 per cent. for food; it is quite as valid to ask what proportion of hospital income goes to professional care of patients, and what to central offices.

Is it worth while to make sure that every reader has the result of the subtraction and percentage? The benefits would outweigh the cost, if only managers themselves were given truth that does not mislead.

An annual report cannot be prepared without great expense and greater error, unless the record of each day's work is taken with a view to answering the questions propounded in the annual report. As one hospital officer wrote recently: "*Yearly* statistics are only *interesting*. For practical purposes, such as checking extravagancy, locating a leak or a loss, discovering inferior supplies, and for locating any new condition that may arise, *monthly* and sometimes *weekly* statistics are necessary." As business men know, weekly and daily blanks may be purchased to order, with instructions for their use, if once a hospital decides what information it will call for from its various officers. Many hospitals are having the experience thus described by an officer of a Worcester, Mass., hospital: "We have on our board two very successful manufacturers who have made a thorough study of reducing expenses in their business. They thought they could apply the same methods to the hospital accounts. They have adopted an entirely new system never before used in any hospital, from which we expect notable results."

A uniform system of reporting and accounting is opposed on the ground that it will encourage comparison of two hospitals whose effort is differently dis-

Hospital Compendium Urged 101

tributed among various kinds of work. For example: You read in a comparative statement that hospital A spends \$2.75 a day for each ward patient, where hospital B spends but \$1.90 per day. Without knowing more of the work of these two hospitals, it appears that hospital A is extravagant. Upon inquiry it may develop that hospital A has a much larger proportion of cases requiring surgical attention, bandages, special diet, extra nursing; whereas most of the work of hospital B is for protracted diseases requiring little special attention and little extra nursing or diet. Obviously there are two ways to prevent misunderstanding. One is to refuse to take part in a plan for uniform accounting for fear that one's hospital will be misrepresented; the other is to use the same language as the other hospital and explain what seem to be discrepancies. The trouble with the first plan—evasion—is that it does not succeed. An uninformed public is a fickle friend. The Committee on Hospital Needs and Finances strongly recommended that the hospitals of New York combine in making a study of the different hospitals, that would show exactly how each one is organised, what work it undertakes, what mechanism it uses to accomplish this result; and then compare hospitals only so far as they are doing a similar work. Such a compendium would work as follows: Two hospital superintendents compare notes. One is using thirty tons of coal a month, the other is using fifty. These facts in themselves tell nothing as to the

economy of the first hospital. When we know that they treat exactly the same number of patients, the difference in coal comes to mean a difference either in stoking, in character of building, in method of ventilation or in coal. The superintendent who uses fifty tons a month will want to know how the other's building is constructed, what furnace and what ventilating apparatus are in use, what kind of coal is purchased. If he finds that the same apparatus is in use; if the buildings are constructed in practically the same way; if the same quality of coal is used, then there is reason to believe that either his stoker or his engineer is careless in the use of coal; that the coal is pea when it should be buckwheat; that there is theft; that coal fails to reach the bunkers; that his apparatus is out of order; or that *the difference must be explained by the failure of the economical hospital to give its patients proper heat and ventilation*. In any event, to separate each hospital into its component parts makes it possible to arrange eighty hospitals so that each can learn from others' experience.

In the absence of such compendium, no language exists to express in clearness and fairness the experience of hospitals without misrepresenting one or the other. Some hospitals are small, some isolated, some in congested districts; some exist for surgical cases only, others for maternity cases, some for convalescent rather than acute cases. It is obvious that it is as impossible, without knowing more than the term *hos-*

pital, to class together twenty such institutions, as to attempt by the word *man* to bring within one class twenty men of different nationalities, different ages, different walks of life.

This last year a conference was organised of the New York City hospital superintendents. It purposes to meet regularly to compare notes as to hospital management. The National Association of Hospital Superintendents has accomplished much in stimulating interest and impressing upon hospitals throughout the country that they have much to learn from one another's experience. The measure of its success, however, as the measure of profit from verbal exchange of experience, is in a published statement shorn of personal elements, putting in black and white points of difference and points of agreement. The hospitals and the public should have an annual digest of hospital data such as that which has helped the British hospitals so much during the past ten years. When this manual is published—an American Burdette—it is to be hoped that it will be adequately supported so as to emphasise over and over again the highest mission of the hospital—to conduct an active, progressive, educational campaign, informing the public regularly and repeatedly as to the causes that make for preventable mortality, sickness and misery. When the selected men of our communities can tell at a glance what now requires hours of stumbling in committee, their valuable services and business talent will be released for the

statesmanlike work they are in position to do. It will not then be necessary for crusades like the tuberculosis crusade to originate outside the hospital, nor for laymen to sound the alarm for impure milk, unsanitary bakeshops, filthy streets and overcrowded tenements.

Headings of Uniform Accounting and Reporting Scheme Adopted in 1906 by Four Leading Hospitals of New York City, and Endorsed in 1907 by the (permanent) Hospital Conference.

SCHEDULE I

DETAILED STATEMENT OF OPERATING, CORPORATION, AND OTHER CURRENT EXPENSES

ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES

Salaries, officers, and clerks.
Office expenses.
Stationery, printing, and postage.
Telephone and telegraph.
Legal expenses.
Miscellaneous.
Total administration expenses.

PROFESSIONAL CARE OF PATIENTS

Salaries and wages:

Physicians.
Superintendent of nurses, assistant, and instructors.
Nurses.
Special nurses.
Orderlies.
Special orderlies.
Ward employees.

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Equipment for nurses:

Uniforms.

Books.

Instruments.

Medical and surgical supplies:

Apparatus and instruments.

Medical supplies.

Surgical supplies.

Alcohol, liquors, wines, etc.

Dispensary:

Emergency ward:

Visiting and home (district) nursing:

Total professional care of patients.

} Salaries and labour.

} Supplies.

DEPARTMENT EXPENSES

Ambulance:

Pathological laboratory:

Training school:

Housekeeping:

Kitchen:

Laundry:

Steward's department:

Labour.

Provisions:

Bread.

Milk and cream.

Groceries.

Butter and eggs.

Fruits and vegetables.

Meat, poultry, and fish.

Total, steward's department.

Total department expenses.

} Salaries and labour.

} Supplies.

GENERAL HOUSE AND PROPERTY EXPENSE

Electric lighting.

Fuel, oil, and waste.

Gas.

Ice.

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Insurance.

Maintenance, real estate and buildings.

Maintenance, machinery and tools.

Plumbing and steam-fitting.

Photography.

Rent.

Miscellaneous.

Total general house and property expenses.

Total operating expenses.

CORPORATION OR OTHER CURRENT EXPENSES

Salaries, officers and clerks.

Stationery, printing, and postage.

Legal expenses.

Interest on mortgages or loans payable.

Taxes.

Miscellaneous.

Total corporation expenses.

Current expenses from special funds for stated purposes:

(Show expenditure from each fund separately)

Grand total current expenses.

Excess of current revenue over current expenses.

Total.

SCHEDULE II

DETAILED STATEMENT OF CURRENT REVENUE

HOSPITAL RECEIPTS (OR OPERATING RECEIPTS)

Private room patients.

Board of friends of patients.

Ward pay patients.

Special nursing.

Dispensary.

Emergency ward.

Ambulance fees.

Miscellaneous.

Total hospital receipts.

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OTHER REVENUE OR INCOME

From the public treasury.
Donations from individuals to meet current expenses.
Donations from churches to meet current expenses.
From Hospital Saturday and Sunday Association.
Net receipts from entertainments, fairs, fêtes, etc.
Legacies, unrestricted.
Profits on investments sold.
Revenue from investments or funds for current use.
Miscellaneous.

Total other revenue or income.

Income from special funds for current expenses:
(Show income account each fund separately.)

Grand total current revenue.

Excess current expenses over current revenue.

Total.

SCHEDULE III

SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEAR

CAPITAL EXPENDITURES

Additions to sites and grounds.
Additions and betterments, buildings.
Furniture and fixtures (if charged to capital account).
New machinery (if charged to capital account).
Apparatus and instruments (if charged to capital account).
Ambulances, live stock, etc. (if charged to capital account).
Miscellaneous.

Total capital expenditures.

SURPLUS ACCOUNT

Grand total current expenses, Schedule I.
Loss and depreciation.
(Show items separately if desired.)

Total.

Surplus for the year.

Total.

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SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS FOR YEAR

CAPITAL RECEIPTS

Fully endowed beds.

Partly endowed beds.

General or special funds or gifts for other than current expenses.

(Show receipts account each fund or gift separately.)

Total capital receipts.

DEFICIT ACCOUNT

Grand total revenue, Schedule II.

Amount charged off endowed bed fund or other fund reserves account liability of hospital having ceased.

Total.

Deficit for the year.

Total.

SCHEDULE IV

COMPARATIVE BALANCE SHEET FOR YEARS

CAPITAL ASSETS

Hospital properties and equipments:

Sites and grounds.

Buildings.

Furniture and fixtures.

Machinery and tools.

Apparatus and instruments.

Ambulances, live stock, etc.

Miscellaneous.

Investments:

Mortgages receivable.

Bonds.

Stocks.

Other investments.

Total capital assets.

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CURRENT ASSETS

Loans and notes receivable.
Accounts receivable.
Accounts receivable from public treasury.
General material on hand.
Cash in hands of treasurer.
Cash in hands of superintendent.

Advances:

Prepaid insurance.
Other prepaid expenses.
Total current assets.

Grand total assets.

Deficit.
Total.

COMPARATIVE BALANCE SHEET FOR YEARS CAPITAL LIABILITIES

Capital account (hospital properties and equipments).
Endowed bed fund reserves.
Partly endowed bed fund reserves.
Other fund reserves.
(List each separately.)
Bonds, outstanding on hospital property.
Mortgages payable.
Total capital liabilities.

CURRENT LIABILITIES

Loans and notes payable.
Audited vouchers unpaid or accounts payable.
Total current liabilities.
Grand total liabilities.
Surplus.
Total.

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SCHEDULE V

STATEMENT SHOWING INCREASE OR DECREASE OF PRINCIPAL OF
ALL CAPITAL FUNDS DURING YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1906

Description of Funds	Amount Sept. 30, 1905	Received during Year	Expended during Year	Amount Sept. 30, 1906	Increase	Decrease
TOTAL.....						

SCHEDULE VI

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR YEARS 1906, 1905

HOSPITAL WARDS AND PRIVATE ROOMS

Patients in hospital first of year:

In medical wards,
In surgical wards,
In private rooms,
Total.

Male.

Patients admitted during year:

To medical wards,
To surgical wards,
To private rooms,
Total.

Female.

*Total patients treated in hospital wards and private rooms
during year:*

Male.

Female.

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<i>Patients discharged during year:</i>	}	
Cured.		
Improved.		
Unimproved.		
Transferred to other institutions.		
Died.		Male.
<i>Total.</i>		
<i>Patients in hospital end of year:</i>	}	
In medical wards,		
In surgical wards,		
In private rooms,		
<i>Total.</i>		Female.

<i>Total patient days treatment,</i>	}	Free ward.
<i>Percentage,</i>		Endowed bed.
<i>Average patients per day,</i>		Pay ward.
		Private room.
		<i>Total.</i>

Average time per patient in hospital.
 Daily average cost per private room patient.
 Daily average cost per ward patient.

EMERGENCY WARD

Patients under treatment first of year,	}	
Patients admitted during year,		Male.
Total patients treated during year,		
Patients discharged during year,		Female.
Patients under treatment end of year,		
Visits made to emergency ward during year.		
Average visits made per day.		
Average visits per patient.		
Daily average cost per emergency ward patient.		

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DISPENSARY

Patients under treatment first of year,	}	Male.
Patients admitted during year,		
Total patients treated during year,		Female.
Patients discharged during year,		
Patients under treatment end of year,		

Visits made to dispensary during year.
Average visits per day.
Average visits per patient.
Daily average cost per dispensary patient.

AMBULANCE

Ambulance calls during year.
Average calls per day.
Average cost per ambulance call.
Patients treated by ambulance surgeon in emergency ward
and transferred.
Patients treated by ambulance surgeon and left at place of
call or transferred direct to other institutions.

VISITING OF HOME (DISTRICT) NURSING

Number of patients visited.
Number of visits made.
Average visits per day.
Average cost per visit.

SUMMARY

Total patients treated during year in all departments.
Average patients per day in all departments.
Daily average number of employees boarded in hospital.
Daily cost per capita for provisions for all persons supported.

VII

School Efficiency

"It is high time we put a stop to all this talk of applying business principles to school management." Of the many notable facts regarding the foregoing sentiment not the least significant is that it was uttered by the majority leader of the most important educational body in the world, in the autumn of 1905, just three months before the accounting methods of that board were faced about in the direction of business principles. Another feature that deserves comment is that "all this talk" instead of nearing a natural or violent death has only just begun. Where one school superintendent, principal or trustee now talks of applying business tests to school management, there are one hundred who have not yet seen how much better the efficiency test is than the hit-or-miss goodness test of the present day. No one in our cities, not excepting either the pastor, the saloon keeper or the ward leader, is so close to social facts of importance as the teachers and principals of public and parochial schools. If infection breaks out they have prompt information in the presence of a diseased child or in an absence that when explained, leads to notice of the disease. If there is illegal child labour, underfeeding,

defective play space, general filth, the teacher first of all sees the physical evidence. No one else notices so quickly or feels so keenly the improvement resulting from pure food, better housing, cleaner streets, improved sanitary and industrial conditions. The school is the only meeting place where it is expected that inequalities and handicaps of home environment shall be obvious. It is for this reason that the school is our richest mine of information with regard both to home needs and to the personal and social obstacles to home improvement. How efficiency tests can help a community read the school child's story may be shown by enumerating a number of things that we really want to know about our schools, questions that the very existence of the public school presumes our ability to answer, but the majority of which cannot be answered for the schools of one single community in the United States.

As to the Physical Welfare of School Children

Are children regularly examined by a physician or nurse; does the examination note eye and head troubles only, or all physical and mental defects; is a record kept of each child's physical improvement or retrogression; are children examined once a year, once during school life or once a month? Have they growths in the nose, enlarged glands, enlarged tonsils, cramped lung capacity or bad teeth that make it impossible to breathe or digest properly?

Questions as to Physical Welfare 115

Are they undernourished and rickety?

Have they any chronic disease?

Have 31% (as in New York) trouble with the eyes that makes it impossible to see figures on the blackboard or to read without tiring?

If 66% (as in New York) are in serious need of medical, dental and ocular care, what efforts are made to persuade or compel parents to take them to a family physician, to a hospital or dispensary?

What attempt is made to find out whether the condition is due to ignorance on the part of the parent, to neglect or indifference or to insufficient income?

Do the schools invite the co-operation of relief agencies for providing eyeglasses, shoes, food, hospital treatment where the overtaxed widow or sick father is unable to provide them?

Does the school environment itself aggravate physical defects; is there adequate light; is there proper ventilation; is there opportunity for washing hands or bathing; is ample play space about the school provided; do the children have enough exercise in the open air; are they permitted to sit facing the light, to lean over, to strain the eyes; are they compelled to study out of school when they should be playing or sleeping; what is the effect upon health of compelling boys of 14 and 15, who work by day, to attend night school?

Does the teaching of hygiene give children an intelligent interest in their vitality and its relation to comfort and to earning power; is the curriculum consistent with known laws of hygiene?

Does the undernourished child drop out earlier than

his well nourished playmate; is he tardy frequently; does he play truant; is it he who fills the backward classes?

How many children are sent home from school because of infectious disease; what is the average time lost in this way; how many of them fail to return to school; are they followed to their homes and their parents shown how to care properly for them; if children stay out a month, do they take up their studies where they left off, thus losing one month only, are they aided to catch up, or do they try to swim beyond their depth, thus losing three months, a grade, a year; is the teacher promptly informed when the child may safely return?

Is a child examined for after effects of measles and scarlet fever?

Are children suffering from permanent or infectious skin trouble or from pulmonary tuberculosis followed up after they are excluded from school until proper hospital and dispensary treatment is insured; or are they permitted to run at large, re-infecting themselves and endangering the lives of their playmates and parents?

Does the extent to which infection interferes with the schools indicate that the department of health is promptly detecting and excluding first cases; has the money value of such efficiency or the money penalty for inefficiency been computed and advertised?

What portion of the schools are not supplied with nurses and physicians; how many visits to homes were paid by nurses and physicians connected with the schools; how many individual homes were

Questions as to Child's Progress 117

visited; do records distinguish between children helped and times children are helped?

Is it known how many crippled, deaf, dumb or blind children of school age are in your city; the efforts made to train their minds and give them a measure of happiness and self-dependence?

Is child labour legislation based upon the child's health and strength or upon his years; is work certificate refused if the child is physically unfit for work or in need of medical or dental care; is any precaution taken to prevent weak children going into unsuitable trades?

As to the Child's Progress at School

If the purpose of the school is "to enrich personality," have we evidence that such is the result of our curriculum?

Is the curriculum fitted to the 3% who go to college, or to the 97% who do not?

Are changes in curriculum based upon experience or on untested theory; are children taught too many subjects; are the three r's weakened or strengthened by the addition of special subjects, by manual training, cooking, music, nature study?

What proportion finish the grammar grades; how many drop out at the third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh grade?

Have you thought of substituting five three-year groups for four four-year groups from primary through college; would the average term of schooling be lengthened?

What children are behind the grade proper for their age; are reasons given for the backwardness; how much does it cost each year to give children work they have already gone over one or more times; is special attention given the backward child to enable him to get into the proper grade; do the board of directors, superintendent, and principals have a monthly record showing progress in caring for backward children, or is a census taken but once a year?

Are children of known mental deficiency given special training adapted to their capacity; are they kept in special classes so as not to hamper the normal children?

Do records show the percentage promoted in each class in each school; is attempt made to explain failure to win promotion; do the schools that show a high percentage not promoted show also a high percentage of absence and truancy; do pupils who began on part time in lower grades move on as rapidly in higher grades as pupils who began on full time?

Are reasons learned why children drop from the roll; showing how many left to go to work; how many removed from the city; how many dropped out because of ill health, physical defects, indifference or chronic truancy?

Do schools that promote children by subjects rather than by grades show a higher percentage of survival, that is, do more seventh-grade pupils go on into the eighth grade or do more second year high school pupils graduate; has flexible grading been tried in your elementary schools; is a card sent with the child from grade to grade showing

the new teacher his previous record, his aptitudes, difficulties, and physical defects?

Are inequalities of result shown in tables comparing school with school, classes of 50 with classes of 50, month with month, district with district, your city with other cities of the same school population?

Is attempt made to discover and explain why large numbers who register for evening schools never attend; why so many drop out after the third or fourth evening; are night pupils classified according to nationality, age, number of weeks attending; is it known why many pupils sleep through sessions, wearied by school atmosphere and their day's toil; are night results and day results compared; are day teachers permitted to teach in night schools; if so does their day work suffer?

As to Teachers and Principals

Are they provided with school reports and invited to make suggestions as to form and content; to explain discrepancies between hope and act; are they helped to view the whole field of which they till a part?

Are they ranked according to percentage of truancy, absence, of failure to win promotion, amount per pupil spent on supplies; is any attempt made to compare the efficiency or amount of work,—principal with principal having the same grades, teacher with teacher having the same problems?

Are they doing hack work or do they regard teaching as a great opportunity to render social service; are they paid enough to grow as demands upon them grow; do their conferences discuss

such questions as school census, flexible grading, truancy or teachers' pensions, salaries; do superintendents work with principals and principals with teachers?

Is merit the only requirement of advancement; is merit tested by results at school or by social graces or diplomacy?

As to School Equipment

Are the good new things we all believe in, night schools, recreation centres, vacation schools, gymnasias, shower baths, modern desks and appliances, roof gardens, interior and outdoor playgrounds enjoyed by all pupils in all sections or by a small proportion in a few sections; are all new schools built with equal advantages; is the Board working out some definite principle of minimum requirement?

Are new buildings placed where overcrowding exists or is threatened, or where some one with influence has property for sale?

Does the statement of new sittings under way show for what grades sittings are planned; is a delay of one, three or four years possible in finishing a building?

Are discrepancies in cost of repairs and coal consumed explained by comparing school with school as to age, material, exposure, kind of furnace, ventilating apparatus, coal, etc.?

What school buildings are not used for night and vacation schools, recreation centres and popular lectures; is the reason for the closing lack of money or absence of need in their neighbourhoods?

As to School Expense

Do the published accounts give all expense incurred or merely cash disbursed; are debts incurred but not paid excluded; are coal and other supplies on hand charged against the year when procured or the year when used; how often is an inventory taken of supplies?

Is it clearly shown how much of last year's supplies went to primary and how much to grammar grades; does a class of forty with an attendance of twenty-four use as many supplies as a class of forty with an attendance of thirty-five; if some schools spend more than others per pupil in any or all grades, are discrepancies examined and explained?

Are salaries divided into amounts for each kind of service,—superintendence, supervision, teaching, clerical, janitor, direction by trustees?

Can one tell at a glance the cost of special subjects, such as German, singing, cooking, manual training?

Are elementary schools charged with all cost of supervision of all schools, or are night and vacation schools, high schools, recreation centres charged with their share?

Is the per capita cost based on total enrolled, average enrolled or average in attendance; is the high per capita of upper grades concealed by averaging with the small per capita of lower grades?

Is the estimate of next year based upon guesses or upon this year's experience; does it provide for what the city needs or merely what the Board thinks it can get; does it ask for more than is

needed so as to be ready for a cut ; does it explain or evade seeming discrepancies?

Are results obtained from expenditures described so as to be interesting to taxpayers?

As to School Trustees

Do they read their own reports and those of their superintendent and state and national commissioners of education ; how many educational journals do they read?

Is their report published promptly ; is it any better than that of departments avowedly partisan and political ; does it encourage the taxpayer to think for himself with regard to school problems ; is there anything to show how many meetings the trustees have attended ; how much work they have done ; whether that work is inefficient ; if they do perfunctorily what paid secretaries would have done efficiently?

Is there evidence in the editorial comment that the trustees have read intelligently last year's experience, discovered next year's need and explained to the taxpayer how much he can save in the future if he will meet those needs not partially but completely ; do the summary, comparative tables showing increases and decreases in percentages indicate that the trustees base their opinions on classified experience?

Would your community have better schools if instead of 15 or 20 or 46 trustees, who volunteer such time as they can conveniently spare from their own affairs, there was one board of 3 or 5 commissioners, at least one of whom being paid

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to give his entire time and held strictly responsible for efficiency in the use of that time for studying school administration?

The foregoing list, long as it is, contains but a fraction of the questions that it is desirable and practicable to have answered for every school in the country. Being unable to answer them has not hitherto deterred college president, congressman, alderman, celebrated divine, philanthropist from apostrophising the American system of universal, free education. They sincerely believe that culture itself, business success and eminence in the community carry with them a just appreciation of educational problems and intuitive knowledge of educational facts. We want great results; we are willing to pay for them; ergo, we are getting them. The avidity with which the exponents of universal education jump from one pedagogical remedy to another implies a little uncertainty as to the finality of their judgment, while the impatience with which the business man criticises the stenographer and bookkeeper turned out by the schools proves him at times a Doubting Thomas. Varying degrees of competence are freely admitted when two trustees describe their favourite teachers, superintendents or principals. I once heard two directors discuss their respective candidates for promotion. Each was convinced that the other's candidate was incompetent and untrustworthy. Neither had any evidence further than "just feelings."

Absence of efficiency tests in judging directors and their policies is due both to lack of desire to know and to prejudice against the statistics necessary for such tests. Despite the fact that for fifty years progressive, independent thinkers within the National Education Association have deplored the lack of definite knowledge with regard to school results, one eminent officer of that great body publicly avows that he "abhors statistics." Another says, "The time and energy of teachers should be given to instruction rather than the compilation of statistics." The head of one of the most important high schools in the United States says of statistics,—“They are commonly regarded by teachers as one of our greatest present impediments to teaching.” An expert accountant responsible for explaining the annual expenditure of millions of dollars calls it academic and theoretical to demand school statistics. So far as these criticisms refer to the kind of statistics generally used in discussing school subjects, they are well founded. So far as they refer to an intelligent, up-to-date use of the statistical method of recording school work when it is done, they are ill founded.

The four chief objections to the statistical method may be easily answered: First, figures mislead. Second, statistical inquiry inevitably leads to waste of time and vigour. Third, you cannot find any unit of inquiry and comparison. Fourth, you cannot test education and character by figures.

In answer to the objection that figures mislead, the obvious reply is, figures do not talk. They may raise questions; they do not answer questions. They only show where the attention of an intelligent mind is needed. Figures are not intended to run schools, but rather to help earnest men and women to run schools in the right direction with a result proportionate to outlay of energy and means. Figures are useful only so far as they cause the student, taxpayer, mayor, teacher, principal, superintendent and director to ask questions regarding the efficiency of themselves and of one another. A school officer once said, "It is obviously false to assume that two schools of the same cubic dimensions should burn the same amount of coal." That a difference of 100% or 300% in the amount of coal burned was natural, he illustrated from his own experience: "Last year I lived in a congested district, houses all about me, and burned five tons of coal. This year I lived in an exposed spot with no houses about me, and I burned fifteen tons of coal." "Suppose for sake of argument that the two school buildings are of the same area, are side by side in the same congested district, should they then burn about the same amount of coal?" "No. The figures would still be misleading, because there is a difference in janitors, a difference in grates, a difference in furnaces and a difference in coal." Whereupon the believer in modern bookkeeping methods asked, "Is it not a fit subject of inquiry whether the difference of 300% is

due to janitor, grate, furnace or coal?" Less than two years after this dialogue the supplies committee of the schools in question are spending \$50,000 less for coal, although coal is higher and nearly 200,000 seats have been added to the space to be heated. If official reports ask questions that tell only a part of the teacher's story as to her efficiency, the fault is with those who prescribe the record. To correct padded records, take out the padding. If primary grades are compared with grammar grades, sort them properly and compare schools only with others struggling with the same grade and the same problems. If statistics mislead, it is the fault not of the statistics but of the mind that compiled them and other minds that interpret them. A false judgment can be corrected better by facts than by any number of guesses. The argument that it is better to be ignorant rather than run the risk of mis-using statistics reminds me of a little Irishman once encountered in Galway leading an able-bodied horse. When asked why he did not ride, he replied, "An if I did, shur'n I might fall off."

The second objection, that the use of school statistics leads inevitably to waste of time and energy and to multiplication of red tape, is not serious. If there is such a tendency it is easy for the board of directors, the superintendent and the principals to be on their guard to check it. There is no more reason for allowing statistics to be impractical than for permitting evening schools, commercial geography,



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manual training or history to waste time and energy. Teachers now feel, it is true, that altogether too much of their time is required in answering and re-answering needless questions. Every mention of a new record causes a united protest from these lovers of childhood, who are unwilling to prostitute their interest by doing mere clerical work. But it must be remembered that this opposition comes from teachers who are not made to see the bearing of this clerical work upon the progress of their children or upon their own development. On the contrary they have been taught that statistics are not to save labour, not to guide intelligence, not to show needs, but merely to furnish superlatives for those who "show off" a school and its officers. Because school trustees and superintendents have not put the results of clerical labour to noble use by preventing unnecessary work on the part of the teacher, and thus removing obstacles and handicaps in her school, she has not learned that figures are symbols as worthy of attention as children themselves. As a rule the time now spent on copying figures that tell no story would be more than ample to fill out adequate records. Two school clerks were explaining the impracticability of keeping records so as to show accurately in what schools and in what grades there were more pupils than sittings. When asked how long it would take them, working full time, to get this information from their present records, they responded, "Oh, a month at least." "But if the sittings and



pupils were given by grades on the original blanks that come to you, would it then require a month?" The man replied, "Oh, no, that would be very easy." The woman spoke up promptly, "It wouldn't either, we would still have to add up all those columns." We then asked, "Supposing, for sake of argument, that each principal returned the number of sittings and the number of pupils for each grade and in another column the deficiency or surplus of sittings for that grade, would it then take long?" "It would be just as easy as it is now." Whether teacher or clerk should add columns is a matter of detail to be decided in each school. It is quite conceivable that in your city or county we could prove that it would be cheaper to hire clerks to do all of the statistical work than to pay the present penalty for neglected truants, deficient children, insufficient sittings and for school opportunities wasted for want of information. Wherever a teacher is doing clerical work that she considers waste of time, a business doctor is needed either by that teacher herself, and perhaps by her principal and superintendent, or by her school board.

The objection that there are no units of inquiry and comparison in school experience has already been answered. In the list of questions given is not one for which a unit cannot be found. The unitless age has not yet arrived. The curriculum and the child's day are full of units of inquiry. The teacher never ceases to be a unit worthy of inquiry; while supplies, build-

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ings, unused text-books, salaries, wasted clerical labour, sickness of children, backward pupils, failure to win promotion, "make up" of annual reports furnish as many countable units as may be found in any business.

The final objection that you cannot test education and character by figures sounds very convincing from the platform or across the dinner table, but as a matter of fact education means little, character means little, except as each is registered in definite acts committed or definite powers attained. There is not a school in the United States, not even a school for the feeble minded, that does not every day impose one or more tests, more or less adequate, both of education and of character. What does promotion mean but that children of the fifth grade have while there acquired powers enabling them to learn topics taught in the sixth grade?

A child reached should mean a child benefited. A child demoted or a child who fails to win promotion is a unit reached but not benefited in proportion to outlay. To go on ignoring the children who fail to win promotion without demanding an explanation, without challenging our educational method, is to do those children a positive injury. It may be that we are also robbing the promoted child of benefits he might derive were the weaknesses of the educational system removed. If the purpose of manual training is to cultivate powers of observation, precision, manual



dexterity, is there no objective evidence in a class of fifty as to those who are progressing in powers of concentration, in precision and in manual dexterity? Unless these powers show in some other branch of study than in manual training itself, if the child is not able to concentrate his mind on history or geography, if he is not able to observe accurately a plant or animal or condition of the street, if he is not more efficient as a wage earner and a citizen, can we still maintain that manual training has developed powers in that individual? Whether he can describe accurately, whether he can concentrate his attention on history or geography, whether he is industrially efficient, can be ascertained. Any educational policy that must forever be supported by belief, not fact, is either too expensive a luxury for a democracy to indulge in or too insignificant to worry about. Any policy that the best theory justifies, facts will also justify and figures describe, classify, count, compare and summarise. Most of the things I have heard cited as beyond statistical analysis refer to social virtues for which the school shares responsibility with home, church, business and playground, but for which the school is seeking chief if not sole credit.

If all the facts that it has been found worth while to gather in some part of the United States were put together in one table, we should have a model schedule that could answer emphatically, in words of educators themselves, all charges that statistics are futile, mis-

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leading and wasteful. The Washington schools learn the number who go forward from the first year to the second year, third and fourth for each high school. A similar table was compiled for New York schools, but not published for fear it would hurt the feelings of those principals whose methods caused the highest mortality; the highest percentage of survival being in those schools where promotion is by subject and not by grade. Philadelphia's school census gives clearly by wards children of school age, children of compulsory school age, children out of school and children who need watching at the critical ages 13, 14 and 15. Detroit knows for one grade of each high school why children drop out, whether for sickness, change of residence, indifference, work. Baltimore and Milwaukee have particularly valuable tables on coal consumption. Chicago's report on night schools is suggestive and the report on the relation of curriculum to vitality of school children is worthy of universal reading. Chicago and St. Louis compare school with school as to attendance, promotion and important elements of expense. New York tells the result of examinations in all subjects in all high schools. Newark's truancy tables are helpful, as is Boston's graphic showing of mortality of pupils from the first grade register, 13,900, to the fifth grade, 8,600, ninth grade, 4,500, and fourth-year high school, 549. Cleveland leads, probably, in financial summary tables, and in general workmanship of annual reports. Elizabeth,

N. J., is the home of records that facilitate and justify flexible grading, promotion when ready, individualisation of pupils. The State of Utah reports the number who fail for each school, while Connecticut ranks her schools according to school enumeration, average attendance, cost based on school population, cost based on attendance, cost based on enrolment,—a principle that might well be copied and extended by every state and city. Many state and city reports employ diagrams, summaries, percentages. Notable studies have been published by Teachers College comparing administrative statistics. If we could only get in all reports the best in each!

A composite of best methods now used with suggestions for practical application of the statistical method to school problems is submitted by the New York Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children.¹ This study includes also some false syntax in reporting: (1) Washington will be asked why it does not show the survival for primary and grammar grades as well as for high schools. (2) Detroit to show why children drop out of primary and grammar grades and of all high school grades. (3) New York to publish its tables of survival, preserving the feelings of the least efficient by showing them how to become efficient. (4) Elizabeth to publish reports showing in how far its flexible grading is applied and with what effect upon school mortality. (5) It is pointed out that Connecticut's

¹Room 215, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

system of ranking would be vastly more useful if the starting point were school population and not alphabet. As now printed, comparable cities are not near to each other, hence the result of the ranking is lost.

(6) In New York City a census of backward pupils is taken on June 30th, probably the least typical of all days of the school year. It requires just as much energy on the part of the teacher to take this census June 30th as to take it October 1st. In the one case the condition cannot be corrected and the teacher receives no benefit from passing on information to headquarters to be published from six to eight months afterwards. In the other case headquarters would obtain the information at a time when it could act promptly to correct the conditions exposed (160,000 from two to six years behind their proper grade in 1905); and the teacher would see that as a result of her effort her own work was made easy, her own pupils happier, her school more efficient. If the original records are properly classified, monthly reports will keep the census up to date, a constant reminder to school officers of one of their gravest problems.

(7) The United States Bureau of Education gives a comparative table of school population for different states which is of little use because the ages given, 4 to 18, 5 to 20, 4 to 16, are not the same for all states, and further because the ages 17 to 20 are of no more practical significance in discussing school problems



than the ages 70 to 90. Likewise, to put in one table facts regarding elementary schools, high schools, country school and graded schools answers no practical question. Many school censuses fail to classify children according to the purpose for which they are counted. In New York State, for example, the present classification jumbles together 4 to 7, 8 to 16, those subject and those not subject to compulsory education and to child labour laws. The only use for the ages 4 to 5 is to show the number eligible to kindergarten; the ages 6 to 7 indicate those for whom school privileges should be provided; the ages 8 to 13 give those who must be in school, no matter what their standing, their birth or privileges, unless they are excused because of ill health or physical incapacity. Ages 14 and 15 should be kept distinct, as they represent children who ought normally to be free from the compulsory education law, but who, because of defective training, should be in school and not at work. Ages 16 and 17, except for those who happen to be in school, are of absolutely no interest unless accompanied by facts throwing light upon their employment, return from that employment and efficiency of their previous training in school. Simply to tabulate a list of children out of school who have nothing whatever to do with compulsory education and will never want to go to school is waste of time. These defects in the state schedules were corrected by New York City in 1906, when it adopted a condensed tabular form illustrated





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by the accompanying schedule, which carries the idea beyond school to employment.

Facts are needed for volunteer educational associations as well as for school officials. The attempt to give schools the benefit of "intelligent outside criticism" has succeeded in proportion as outsiders have applied efficiency tests to their own inquiries and to their use of the results. A program basing judgment on fact has been adopted by the New York Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children. This Committee is composed of men and women who have desired to know certain countable, measurable facts. Most of the original investigations and the work of the clearing house are conducted by paid secretaries, giving their entire time to the following program:

1. Study of the Physical Welfare of School Children

- (a) Examination of board of health records of children needing medical, dental or ocular care, and better nourishment.
- (b) Home visitation of such children, in order to ascertain whether their need arises from deficient income or from other causes.
- (c) Effort to secure proper treatment, either from parents, or from free clinics or other established agencies.
- (d) Effort to secure proper physical surroundings of children while at school,—playgrounds, baths, etc.

2. *Effort to secure establishment of such a system of school records and reports*

as will disclose automatically significant school facts,—e. g. regarding backward pupils, truancy, regularity of attendance, registered children not attending, sickness, physical defects, etc.

3. *Effort to utilise available information regarding school needs*

so as to stimulate public interest and thus aid in securing adequate appropriations to meet school needs.

One ingredient of school efficiency is usually lacking, namely, desire to know. It is a simple matter to select units of inquiry and comparison, to compute fractions, to count the number of children or desks, to provide the denominator, learn the percentage and obtain light as to matters needing attention. Several groups of New York principals have recently formulated a card record calling for facts that some day every school will be expected to answer, as to the child's pedagogical and physical progress during school life. Several principals are already using similar cards to test the efficiency of their teachers and their schools. In their brief supporting a simplified record on the loose sheet that can be used over and over again throughout the child's experience and that lends itself to a speedy classification, these principals state emphatically that at present a great proportion of teachers' time and principals' time is wasted in re-



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writing facts from book to book, without appreciable benefit to the schools and without making the information available when next called for by headquarters. Just what cards should be adopted in a particular school, whether the teacher or principal or clerk should fill out this card, whether carbon duplicates should be kept, whether records should be in ink or pencil, are matters of technical detail to be settled within each school. What the school world needs more than anything else is to put down in black and white the things it expects the school to do. Given a question in the mind of teacher or taxpayer, a business doctor or system manufacturer will produce ready-made cards properly ruled and headed to elicit and classify the necessary facts.

Much has been accomplished for rural communities by state boards of education which have demanded information that the communities themselves have not at first desired to know. The educational possibilities of these state clearing houses are vast. Each school may be made to see itself as others see it and to compare the proportion of its pupils who obtain state certificates with that of rival schools. As a matter of self-defence it will try to explain differences in percentage of absence, truancy, promotion. Most state reports have hitherto failed to bring out significant questions with regard to promotions, failure to win promotion, percentage of absences. In a word, the state superintendents have not made such use of tables that teachers



themselves realise how much energy may be saved by systematically recording their daily routine. They have not yet given to the weakest teacher the system of the strongest.

Much as has been done by the National Bureau of Education, it is a mere bagatelle compared with the opportunity. It is no exaggeration to say that the National Bureau of Education has greater possibilities, if properly supported, than any other—yes, any five—single educational agencies in the United States. The United States Commissioner of Education should have in his possession more valuable data with regard to the forces that make for intelligence, industry and health and the forces that make for ignorance, shiftlessness and disease than any other intelligence centre in the world. Yet this great nation, embarrassed by prosperity, gives but a beggarly sum for the support of this department, whose head receives only \$4,000 a year,—less than headmasters of private schools or even superintendents in small cities. The bureau itself has always been most unpopular with the Congressional Ways and Means Committee. So little does the country expect from it that when a National Children's Bureau was projected, it was taken for granted that the Bureau of Education could not effectually study the conditions affecting child welfare. Instead of harnessing 500,000 school-teachers to the crusade against child abuse and child neglect, it is proposed to establish an independent bureau with one chief investigator



U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION

Potentially the greatest factor for increasing school efficiency in the United States, said now to be the least popular, as it is probably the most inadequately supported bureau of the national government.





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and a handful of assistants. In November, 1906, a movement was started to secure a re-definition of the purpose of the National Bureau of Education, to give that bureau a comprehensive program, to add child study to its functions, and to secure Congressional recognition and appropriations commensurate with its opportunity. When we desire to know a small part of the information that the National Bureau of Education is in position to obtain, interest in child study may be sent by way of state superintendents, county superintendents, city superintendents to teachers throughout the land, as government time is now telegraphed to the remotest village. The little red schoolhouse will be told over and over again that it is part of a national movement to develop efficient citizens; it will be told of its own efficiency or inefficiency, and inspired to adopt for itself methods proved to be most successful by schools working under similar conditions. If Wisconsin's facts show that a central school in one township is cheaper and more efficient than a number of small schoolhouses, Nebraska and Pennsylvania will receive stimulus from a central clearing house to consolidate its township schools. The head of the national clearing house will be recognised, so that in the future our Presidents will not accept the resignation of one commissioner and appoint a successor without the country knowing that a new leader is to be selected.

If it be said that the Children's Bureau should be

independent of the Bureau of Education because intended to study questions apart from education, such as infant mortality, child labour, children's diseases, it may be answered that the interest of the efficient educator to-day goes far beyond so-called education. Nothing that pertains to the child, child health and child efficiency is beyond either the interest or the responsibility of the efficient teacher. Such subjects as can be better studied by a National Board of Health or by the Department of Commerce and Labour would be too vast for the small Children's Bureau proposed.

Can we afford clearing houses for school information? There are those who hesitate to divert funds from strictly educational purposes to accounting systems that would answer, automatically and continuously, significant questions with regard to school progress and school needs. New York is not the only city of which it can be proved conclusively that for every dollar required for such intelligence \$100 or \$1,000 is now being wasted;—in treating crime that might be prevented through efficient public schools; in suffering the competition of defective industrial agents who might have been made more efficient in the public school; in building and supporting truancy schools that would be unnecessary if the truth were told about the enforcement of the compulsory education law; in paying physicians and inspectors of infectious disease; in building and maintaining hospitals that would not be necessary if the truth regarding the physical

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welfare of school children were promptly detected and promptly utilised. New York City is willing to spend \$30 yearly on a child in the elementary schools, or \$80 on a child in the high schools, yet many feel that to spend one-fifth of one cent per child in taking a school census, so as to make sure that no child is being deprived of its right to educational and industrial efficiency, is an extravagant use of taxpayers' money. As a business proposition it is true the world over that wherever there is a large outlay it is worth while to spend *enough* on intelligence to prevent waste. Intelligence should be regarded not as an extravagance or indulgence, but rather as a protection against fire, accident or disease. It is true of our American schools that an adequate system of bookkeeping and records would disclose waste in construction of buildings, in supplies, in service, in children's time, in opportunity, vastly exceeding the expenditure necessary for bringing to light such waste.



VIII

Efficiency in Charitable Work

IF Robert M. Hartley had been mobbed while expounding the domestic and industrial reasons for temperance; if he had suffered persecution from the vendors of distillery milk whose nefarious traffic he destroyed; or endured ostracism at the hands of gentlefolk for condemning their disease-breeding tenements, it would probably not be necessary to remind the twentieth century what he was and why we are indebted to him for benefactions that multiply in importance as civic problems are better understood. Few lives illustrate more clearly how accidental is fame and how disproportionate to service rendered humanity. There is such a thing as doing one's work so well as to make the heroic seem easy, as being so successful in winning the co-operation of one's age that the significance of a leader's personality is obscured by the institutions and movements resulting from his labour. Such seems to have been the case with Robert M. Hartley, leader of two generations in constructive social work.

Equal energy concentrated upon politics or business would have won pre-eminence among the country's statesmen and financiers. Lesser abilities have fre-

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quently gained fame and riches from the practice of law. If he had given at any one time one-hundredth part of what others have given to support work inaugurated by him, he would be mentioned with Peabody, Girard, Cooper and other public benefactors of his day. Had he explained how to teach the child instead of how to give it strength and ambition to learn, written on race suicide instead of preventable infant mortality, compiled and digested in one volume the essays, articles, addresses and reports of fifty years of social work, his writings would be widely known. If his effort had followed instead of paralleling that of the abolitionist, our generation of social workers would have canonised him. Unknown as he is, however, to most of the earnest men and women who are now striving to guide their communities toward higher ground, his career epitomises in a helpful degree the motives and methods upon which successful charitable work in our own time must rely.

Hartley's greatness is of the comforting kind that every village and city in the land may reasonably hope to produce. When at the age of thirty (1825) he came to New York, he was neither a genius nor a paragon. On the contrary one suspects that he bored old and young alike with his apt quotations from scripture and philosophy, as with his rustic notions about the moral life and the Christian's duty to talk about it. While the vocabulary of his age did not permit him to be strenuous, he was ripe for the complete es-

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pousal of the creed enunciated in that decade by Garrison,—“As harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice.” In fact he was quite the honest, vigorous, somewhat opinionated, consciously moral man that is every day leaving the country for a city career. Just the type of man that would promptly identify himself with a city church and dutifully answer a call for workers to spread leaflets among the unchurched poor,—his first social work.

If you have ever distributed religious tracts among the very sinful of the very poor, you know how unsatisfactory is that method of stirring their moral natures. Hartley found a surprisingly large number of men and women who, even if able to read his leaflet, were sure to destroy it or carry it back to some saloon. Although without a very keen sense of humour, he could not fail to be impressed with the unequal chance his leaflet had under such circumstances,—a tract is so unaggressive and fugitive, a saloon so aggressive and insistent in its educational effort. Hartley worked hard and consecutively, therefore one discouraging impression had not faded before another of the same kind left its mark upon his brain, the second was quickly followed by the third, the fiftieth registered soon after the twenty-fifth. Had these impressions been fewer in number, had they been distributed over a very long period so that each could be erased before the next was registered, Hartley's mind would probably have failed

Hartley as Temperance Agitator 145

to discover their similarity and their lesson, *i. e.*,—*Under ordinary circumstances a brain befogged with alcohol cannot see the gospel; to dispel or weaken the power of alcohol will remove one serious obstacle to a man's redemption.*

Thus it was that the distributor of religious tracts was led into a fight against intemperance. Having chosen this starting point Hartley took account of stock, an inventory, or as we say in social work, a census. In fact he was forever taking censuses, counting and comparing his own resources and those of his adversary, whether that was a person, habit, prejudice, disease or set of conditions. Saloons, breweries, distilleries, quantity and value of beverages manufactured, imported or consumed—arrests, convictions and sentences for drunkenness, percentage of all criminals addicted to alcohol—reasons cited in defence of moderate drinking—persons and classes who had pecuniary interest in continuing intemperance—these were listed face to face with the forces arrayed against intemperance, *i. e.*, home and industrial reasons for total abstinence, personal and class motives that might be used against saloons. With armour as impenetrable as the facts of his time permitted, he led the battle for the City Temperance Society, which in ten years secured pledges from 167,000 persons, distributing in one year 30,000,000 pages of argument—an average of 100 pages for every man, woman and child in the city. In addition the press helped with news space

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and editorials, not because he besought their co-operation, not because the editors of his day subscribed to total abstinence, but because he set up an ideal that all must approve and expressed it in such a readable and stimulating way that the papers could not afford to reject his letters. One fact was always worth a dozen guesses to him. Therefore, instead of imagining the point of view of those who seemed to disagree with him, he sought personal interviews with drunkard, saloon keeper, manufacturer, pastor, editor, mayor, legislator. He obtained audience because he granted the others' sincerity and assumed that only failure to present the facts of his own cause adequately could prevent mutual understanding and agreement. Argument and plea started from fact, practically the only antidote he ever tried for mis-information. The manufacturer and bartender were shown facts proving, as he believed, that the majority of their trade failed; the pastor was made to see that the poor drunkard could not be morally awakened by a man who considered intemperance compatible with Christian living. The immigrant was persuaded by evidence before his eyes that whatever might have seemed possible in his European home, he could not in this country "indulge in the free use of strong drink without risk of health, loss of character, wreck of fortune and happiness." Incidentally the rural legislator was rebuked in 1839, as he was by others in 1906, for attempting to force liquor laws upon New York City, "thus defying the

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first essential of successful legislation, the consent of the people concerned."

The desire to speak from personal knowledge of the other man's interest led him to visit distillers at their work. Near one factory he found "in low flat pens over 500 milch cows closely huddled together, inhumanly condemned to subsist on slops smoking hot from the stills." He wondered what sort of milk "this unnatural, disgusting" food produced. Now, with Hartley's desire to know was always followed by attempt to learn, while facts discovered led promptly to action, adapted in kind and duration to the human need disclosed. Instead of being amused by the fact that the distillers "would not risk the lives of their own families by using the produce of their own dairies," he was disturbed and promptly traced this milk to 25,000 tenement babies. True to his census-taking proclivities or convictions, he examined the physical condition of these babies and discovered "a frightful waste of human material." New York's tenement babies had died at a continually increasing rate from 1814 to 1841, the increase keeping pace with the practice of feeding cows on distillery refuse. This indication that the refuse was a factor in the increased death rate was confirmed by the fact that in the same period the mortality of babies in other large cities here and abroad had decreased 50%. Lest this statistical judgment should be at fault, he examined with a chemist's help the ingredients of "still" milk and found it lacking in

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food value, entirely unfit for human consumption. "*Having satisfied himself that the facts were indisputable,*" he lectured, wrote essays and articles, prepared a book (1841) thus giving others at once information that had cost him months to secure, compiled a handbook for dairymen and farmers showing not only what to feed, but what conditions to provide for the production of milk, and *continued to fight for twenty years*, until model milk shops took the place of wagons from the still, until dairy conditions improved in response to universal demand, and until the State Legislature (1864) enacted laws prohibiting the traffic in impure milk. Religion—intemperance—distillery profits—distillery cows—distillery milk—undernourished baby victims—publicity—helpful suggestions as to production—legal safeguards obtained by people concerned—Hartley believed that each link in the thought chain belonged to the public, and was in fact true only when appropriated and applied by the public for its own protection.

Once having examined critically the infant mortality of a city or state, no one is ever able again to concentrate attention upon religious and temperance tracts. Behind drunkenness and irreligion Hartley found squalor, disease and ignorance that the community could prevent, but before which the immigrant mother and father were helpless even when religious and temperate. How could they in their environment picture the ideals he painted of health, comfort, cleanliness,

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rest, strength, progress and the other joys resulting from a temperate, God-fearing life? How could he learn to speak their language, where discover a solid ground from which to help them, and to seem to be looking at their problem with their eyes? Determined to get behind and beneath the causes that engendered alcoholism and other social evils, he organised in 1843 an association to go to the poor prepared to give not a rebuke or a tract, but help fitted to their need, be that coal, bread, protection against transmissible disease, or opportunity to be clean and to become efficient in self-support. Not the least of Hartley's services was the naming of this new endeavour, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. In these later days when the telephone has set a premium on short names, there is a tendency to sacrifice purpose for brevity and there are those who publicly and privately condole with "the society with the long name." But it should be remembered that this name was intended to be descriptive both of the scope and of the method of conducting social work. It represents not chance or euphony, but a purpose, supplying in itself an objective test, the efficiency test of work conducted:

ASSOCIATION—a group of contributors working together on the basis of common motive; **IMPROVING**—the combined effort of associated individuals not to remonstrate, not to tear down, but to improve; **CONDITION**—that which is to be improved is not

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a chance individual or emergent situation here and there, but the environment and disabilities that make for poverty and vice; POOR—those whose involuntary handicaps and restricted opportunities furnish the best criterion of conditions that call for improvement.

Starting with districts in which the poor lived, with conditions that could be counted and compared, Hartley and his colleagues took census after census; contrasted achievement with needs unsupplied; began a crusade for better housing; mapped the city's plague spots; pointed out the neglected child, stimulated the organisation of societies for its protection and care, obtained a compulsory education law and truant officers; founded two dispensaries; started a wash house and bathing establishment; erected model tenements; conducted a fierce campaign for hygiene and sanitation through popular lectures and the press; counted the crippled children tucked away in tenement corners, abused and regarded with suspicious dread even by their own; established a hospital for their treatment; secured legislation prohibiting the adulteration and traffic in impure milk; organised protection against cholera; projected improvements in city markets; tested the colonisation theory of moving the denizens of the slum to the country by investigating several thousand parents. What a record! The reason why its equal cannot be found in the annals of social and charitable work is this, that for the first twenty years

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of its existence the hundreds of men who co-operated with Mr. Hartley and his board of managers worked from fact to theory, and concentrated their attention not upon some one personality, not upon social standing, not upon being good, not upon one organisation, but upon an objective, efficiency test,—namely: streets, cellars, garrets, sick babies and stranded immigrants.

Hartley's experience in relief work, however, proves the defects of the goodness test, as his constructive work illustrates his use of the efficiency test. During his early days he was always looking for work left undone, for proof that his efforts were repaid. His energies waned as his years and the volume and detail of office work increased. His relief methods failed to keep pace with the needs of the growing city. In other words, in 1865, after twenty years of unsurpassed efficiency as educator, he tended to fall back upon the protestation test that as religious zealot he brought with him to New York in 1825. It is interesting to conjecture what might have been accomplished had Hartley's brilliant educational genius applied itself to winning over his generation to an efficiency test of relief work. With three hundred volunteers chosen from the city's business and professional men, he could have accomplished wonders. As a matter of fact, he applauded their desire to do good and closed his eyes to the fact that the poor man and the rich man were no longer neighbours who could exchange visits after

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supper. He continued to use volunteer visitors who could not and would not visit, where the signs of the time pointed to paid visitors always on duty. When money should have been raised—and could have been raised on the record of the Association, for an efficient paid staff to do the increasing work of the city, he—like others since his day—used his brilliant powers to persuade the community that there is some special merit in volunteer work even though the work itself is ineffective. When others protested that it was not organising the resources of the city properly or that its methods did not prevent unwise and demoralising charity, the Association replied not with a candid examination of its work in all parts of the city, but with selected illustrations of good work and Christian spirit intended to overwhelm opposition. At the critical moment, when the comparison of what it could do and ought to do with what it actually was doing, might have led to an increase in resources for charitable and educational work, it openly resented criticism. It thus made expedient, if not necessary, the Charity Organisation Society, which started in 1881 about where the Association began in 1843. The resources of the city were to be better husbanded; societies were to work together, not independently; imposture was to be unmasked; volunteers were to bring uptown and downtown, mansion and hovel, into brotherly co-operation for the latter's uplift. There was no result aimed at by the movement of 1881 that was not clearly outlined

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in 1843. The procedure was to be the same,—sufficient inquiry to ascertain the needs of the applicant for relief ; central registration of names and addresses ; reports of visits made, relief or other treatment given, to be filed at headquarters.

In two respects the original Charity Organisation Society differed materially from the original Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. In order to avoid what its founders regarded as the chief cause of the Association's failure to apply the efficiency test to its relief work, the new society saw fit not to permit the same person to investigate and to relieve. It seemed at the time that the recipient could not be both morally and materially helped by the same friend. It was feared that the giving of food would prevent influence of the right kind and would tend to demoralise the applicant as well as to obscure the judgment of the visitor. Therefore the Charity Organisation Society constitution declared that the Society "would not directly dispense alms in any form, but would find out when material relief was needed and when it should be discontinued." Secondly, the C. O. S. started out with a better system of central records of relief, partly because it was to be primarily an information centre, and partly because it began in a time of more efficient business methods. While the Association's first relief card contained practically all the information of the original Charity Organisation Society, its volunteer visitors failed to obtain the in-



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formation necessary to fill out the card, and by 1881 a very crude form was in use. The superiority of the more complete card and of the central registration of all such cards appealed quickly to the A. I. C. P., which gave the C. O. S. its first home.

From the first, the Charity Organisation Society has applied a fact test to the applicant and the efficiency test to its theory of relief giving. That is to say, it adopted from the first the principle that the treatment of needy families should be efficient and should be judged by results. More recently it has, through its Bureau of Minor Charities, offered subscribers light upon the goodness of minor charities, and as much light upon efficiency as the reports of these minor charities make possible. Its magazine, *Charities*, and its School of Philanthropy have held high the standard of efficiency and have taught thousands to appreciate that "desire to do is not equivalent to ability to do." A world-wide reputation has been earned by its successful educational campaign for the establishment of a tenement house department for New York City (which has indirectly influenced housing conditions throughout the country) and by its initiative in organising the National Tuberculosis Committee and the National Child Labour Committee. But even this society, brilliant as has been its career, has never applied to the execution of its relief theories, to its own employés, to its method of raising funds, to its volunteer visitors, to its efforts towards organising the

Steps in Applying Efficiency Tests 155

charitable resources of its own city and towards improving schools and hospitals, or to its annual report, such an efficiency test as may be safely copied by other societies.

Because of the conditions just narrated, and because recent discussion in the National Conference of Charities and Correction has emphasised the financial methods of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, it seems desirable, in treating of efficiency in charitable work, to give a candid account of the different steps by which this Association has come to apply to itself the efficiency test. Its past and present weaknesses are frankly admitted for the sake of the good that can be gained by others. For ten years it has avowedly and earnestly sought to apply, so far as it could learn how, the efficiency test to its work and its workers.

In 1896 the Association had three bookkeepers, one for receipts, one for expenditures, and one to review the work of the other two. Yet the financial statement gave two items only under expenditures (1) *Payments as per order of the Board of Managers, \$84,640.* (2) *Balance on hand, \$355.* One page of monthly payments (unclassified) for each department supplemented this. No one knew what it cost to procure funds, whether department officers were economical, whether the various practices in giving relief were wise or unwise. It was nobody's business to analyse or question. There was the general assumption that the

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work was *well* done, because it was supposed that everybody must want to do *good* work. Criticism was met by two statements: (1) This organisation has worked since 1843 and never refused to help a deserving person. (2) We can prove that our methods are most humane and sympathetic. The same answer is the best that can be given by most charitable agencies in the United States, when their policies or methods are challenged. Not until 1906 did the A. I. C. P., the C. O. S. or the United Hebrew Charities effectively analyse results of treatment.

This situation was partly appreciated in 1897 when the A. I. C. P. board started out to put its finances on a sound business basis. Changes recommended by the general agent, Frank Tucker, commended themselves at once to the board and later to the public, as well as to certain other charitable societies. One book-keeper took the place of three; outgoing and incoming funds were handled through one desk and one ledger; general headings were separated into their parts. Where formerly it had been impossible to learn the entire expense of any one department of work,—or the portion of the total that was used for salaries, stationery or coal,—from 1897 on a statement was made for each department, showing exactly how its share of the budget was used.

EXPENDITURES OF GENERAL AGENTS' OFFICE

**FOR FISCAL YEAR COMMENCING OCTOBER 1, 1897, AND ENDING
SEPTEMBER 30, 1898**

Salaries.
Printing and Stationery.
Postage.
Library.
Furniture and Fixtures.
Expense.

EXPENDITURES OF DEPARTMENT OF RELIEF

**FOR FISCAL YEAR COMMENCING OCTOBER 1, 1897, AND ENDING
SEPTEMBER 30, 1898**

Salaries (Office).
Salaries (Visitors').
Cash for rent, specified disbursements, transportation, and other
cash items for relief of applicants.
Groceries.
Coal.
Shoes.
Sewing Bureau.
Carfares (Visitors').

In dispensing relief funds, memory and unclassified bills were no longer trusted. Vouchers were required to show both purpose and department, and were paid only when certified by the one spending the money and approved by the general agent.

Of first importance was the adoption of by-laws protecting the treasury against hasty and ill-considered action. Receipts are entered in one fund whatever their source. This fund is called the General Fund. Against it no one can draw but the treasurer,

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and he only upon resolution of the board of managers. The ledger account for the General Fund shows in summary every financial transaction of the year. If \$10,000 were taken out and put back ten times, the General Fund would show \$100,000 on both sides of the ledger. This account therefore does not of itself reflect work done. But the treasurer must explain every increase or decrease in this one fund.

Money taken from the General Fund goes directly to one of two other accounts or funds. The three funds are kept in different banks, partly because of convenience, partly to earn interest and partly to reduce possibility of error and confusion. If money is to be paid out to defray current expenses, it goes to the account for which the general agent is responsible. If it were possible to estimate accurately in advance the expenditures for a month, there would never be a cent in the Expense Account on the first of each month, for the cash to be used in paying the coming month's bills is not available to the general agent until after the first day of the month. For every increase or decrease in this current fund the general agent must submit a classified explanation, which is accepted by the board only after the statement has been professionally audited. The second account that is built up from the General Fund is the Reserve Fund, to which go promptly all moneys from bequests and all gifts the interest on which only may be used. The by-laws do not declare that legacies

Treatment of Reserve Funds 159

shall not be used for current purposes, but before they may be taken out of the Reserve Fund, paid back to the general fund, and thus disbursed in current account, there must be a formal vote which always means debate. Hence an unwritten law that the Reserve is not to be encroached upon except when justified by an emergency. There is nothing, however, to prevent any violation of this principle that the board is willing to record and publish.

All changes in the General, Reserve, and Expense accounts, are read and explained in detail at each monthly board meeting, and published in summary, professionally audited, in the annual reports.

Three other important provisions are made in the by-laws: (1) Expenses shall be within the Budget. (2) Every department shall meet monthly from October to June. (3) All matters involving money transactions shall be reviewed by the Finance Department. The budget is a declaration of intention or policy, voted in May—a time of full board meeting—to govern the year beginning the next October. This is made up, not by guessing, but by forecasting with the aid of former years' classified experience the probable expense of each department during the next year. Each department goes over a statement of estimated increases or decreases. When it has decided upon changes to be recommended to the board, its requests go to the Finance Department with explanation. Here the various department budgets are compared with one

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another, and the total proposed expenditure is compared with the total estimated receipts. If the expenditures planned exceed the estimated receipts, department estimates are reduced and only so much voted as the board has reason to expect, with its present plans, it can meet from estimated receipts. These written estimates are placed before the board in advance, and after consideration the final Annual Budget is voted. From that time on for a year, the same counting and comparing need not be done again. The budget is law and within its specific limits freedom is left to committees and executive officers. When expenditures are proposed not provided for in the budget, they must either wait over for one month or go to the board after being formally approved by the Finance Department. The board is free to revise its budget at any time, or to change its estimate of receipts, or to increase the proportion of its Reserve that is to be used for emergencies, but the presumption is emphatically against such action which can be taken only after due consideration.

Thus in 1902 there was an admirable mechanism that showed where money went and how it was dispensed. The changes since made will indicate the value of a system that brings to light weaknesses and discrepancies, when there is an attitude that welcomes such evidence as a first means of increasing efficiency.

A new relief policy was on probation, namely, substitution of cash for grocery orders. Visitors had tes-

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clerks generally discriminated



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~~another, and the total proposed expenditure is com-~~

Testing Work of Relief Visitors 161

tified that grocery clerks generally discriminated against the customer who offered a relief order in payment. Following an investigation of the practice in other societies, visitors were instructed:—(1) To discontinue where practicable the grocery order; (2) To purchase supplies and have them delivered to families; (3) To give cash wherever mothers could be relied upon to purchase efficiently. The board believed that this change would not only protect the feelings of poor women, but would gradually lead visitors to measure their relief not by the grocery unit (\$.50) and its multiples (\$1, \$1.50, \$2), but rather by the family unit of things needed to eat. After a short trial several visitors doubted whether the new policy was not a mistake. It became important to learn how thoroughly they had tested it. Because no record had been kept separating "order" from "purchase" and "cash," it was necessary laboriously to sort and count the tickets given out by different visitors. It then transpired that the doubting visitors had, unknown to the supervisors, superintendent, general agent and board, failed to carry out the board's instructions. Their entries read, \$1.50, \$2, \$3.50, whereas the entries of those who had followed instructions read,—\$1.17, \$3.24, and \$.68. A daily and monthly report was immediately prepared that has ever since shown amount given in cash, amount purchased by visitor, and amount given in grocery orders. The visitor now asks, "What eatables does this family need," not "How

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many \$.50 orders shall I give?" A pronounced increase in efficiency has resulted.

Each visitor was required to attend to all needy families in her district. Every morning one or more new applications would come to each visitor requiring immediate attention. How should she plan the rest of her day? She would go over the 100 names and addresses, recall or look up the conditions at the time of her last visit, and then select those that were most accessible from the neighbourhoods that the new applications or urgent engagements made it necessary for her to reach during the day. Naturally families near main thoroughfares would seem within easy reach oftener than families on the edge of her district,—just as in tit-tat-too the centre has four chances, the four corners have three chances each and the other squares have only two. Not infrequently some serious oversight would come to light; a visitor had planned to visit the family, but forgot until too late. A prize was offered for the best method of insuring that a visit would be made not sooner and not later than it was needed. Several plans were submitted and the following Daily Pad adopted:

A Serviceable Daily Check

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9/3	9/4	9/5
MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY
5828 ——— C	2944 ——— 9/7	2901 ——— 9/13
4137 ——— 9/8	3640 O'Connor 9/13	5492 Horan S 9/7
2262 ——— 9/14	5556 ——— 9/10	4929 Connaugh 9/7
1376 ——— 9/10	5863 ——— 9/17	6113 ——— 9/8
5210 ——— 9/10	6409 ——— C	6473 ——— 9/7
—— = Visited as planned.		Dates — Next visit.
S — Sewing given, hence not urgent.		
C — Last visit, less important than others. May therefore give way to urgent cases.		

9/6	9/7	9/8
THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
878 Duzenberry 9/7	4660 Seagal 9/13	2050 McConnon 9/13
3187 Ramsdell 9/13	5538 Kemner 9/11	385 Burke C
5308 Trautlein 9/7	6303 ——— C	3500 Allen C
61 ——— 9/10	4799 Zenner 9/10	5616 ——— C
952 ——— 9/10	3140 ——— 9/13	6858 ——— C

There was the usual cry against red tape. But the visitors soon came to see that they were saved a vast amount of tape that was no less red because wasted. The energy formerly spent on deciding not to visit a family could now be spent on deciding what to do for the family visited. After learning that they could not keep an orderly pad and do disorderly work, and that the little feminine devices to keep up appearances would be quickly disclosed to the questioning supervisor, they stopped trying to make columns even by putting names where there was room instead of where the family should be visited, and began seri-

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ously to take advantage of the saving that came from system. No name is transferred from one day to another unless it has been visited. All names unscratched indicate, therefore, visits planned but not made. The supervising officer can tell by 9.10 every morning what work undertaken yesterday was not done. The visitor explains the work she failed to do according to plan, her records show how she did what was done according to plan, after which both supervisor and visitor give their attention to problems of the day at hand. The visitor looks over on Monday only those cases that she, at the time of her last visit, decided could not be put off beyond Monday. At the time the visitor is in the home, she decides the interval for which her visit has provided.

This blank quickly became popular. The least orderly mind was given a system better than that previously used by the most orderly mind. The energies and personal characteristics of both were now concentrated on needy families instead of upon mechanical difficulties of reaching or describing those families. As rapidly as one visitor makes an improvement in this plan it becomes necessary for all visitors to use the new labour-saving device. The figures below or after the name indicate the date of the next visit. C means that nothing is to be done but close the case—the visiting or clerical work can therefore be postponed if other engagements are more important. Gradually the plan is tried of putting Cs all in one

day, a sort of cleaning up day when all less important matter—underbrush and dead-wood—can be cleared away.

Two maximums were in effect in 1902: (1) No visitor was permitted to spend more than \$2 at any one visit without previous consent of the supervising officer; (2) Who in turn was not permitted to authorise more than \$20 for any one family during one period of dependence without reference to the Relief Department of the Board. Similar provisions are still in force in many charitable organisations that work through executive or advisory committees. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has abolished both maximums. The visitor is now expected to give adequate relief, whether it be 3 cents, \$3, or \$30, promise of work, or again a warning before reporting a parent to police authorities. She is expected to have the courage of her judgment. Whether her judgment is sound is determined by results compared with statements of fact as to conditions she attempts to relieve. If her decision or judgment cannot be improved, it would be a wiser use of her salary to pension her than to permit her to continue spending sums of less than \$2 at a time,—just as an operation for adenoids is cheaper at \$10, than to give cod liver oil at 90 cents a bottle in the hope of mitigating mal-nutrition due to adenoids. So with the superintendent of relief, it has been found cheaper and more efficacious to judge her by works than by

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any maximum to impose a limit. A system of maximums conceals both inefficiency and efficiency; the objective test reveals both and shows just where weaknesses should be corrected. The board considers that it makes no better investment than to give every employee a chance to show where his judgment breaks down and in how far he is capable, just as it no longer fears a flood of applications started by newspaper articles telling of its liberal relief policy. If it gives indiscriminate relief, it shoulders all the blame.

Maximum salaries have likewise been abolished. Workers are paid according to grade of work done. As soon as a grade is reached, and this is a matter of physical proof, not official opinion, salary goes up automatically. No officer can keep a worker from getting the salary of her grade. There is no longer fear or hope of favouritism. The worker keeps her eyes on the work, not on her supervising officer. It is obviously not possible under this system for one worker to be paid \$10 more than her colleagues receive for doing the same or perhaps more and superior work. Tenure does not count apart from value of service. Visitors who fall below grade are asked to seek work where they can be efficient. Every worker is urged to earn promotion in salary, the board consistently welcoming opportunity to recognise increased efficiency by increased salary; for example, a salary inducement is offered to visitors who can do their own work so ac-

curately that a supervisor will not be needed to correct and close their records.

This principle has led to a change in the relation of visitor to supervisor. Formerly the latter heard an oral statement of the work of the preceding day, which statement was later dictated for the records. Easily such oral statements degenerated to mere chatty descriptions. A visitor of poor judgment could so colour her statement that it seemed natural to do to-day the very things she refused to do last week under exactly similar conditions. Now the supervisor talks to the visitor of things the latter's record has not made clear; asks what is planned for to-day's cases; and helps where she formerly listened. The visitor has learned to dictate properly. She has been given the chance to show others and herself the kind of mistake she is apt to make. It is understood that the visitor is not to ask advice except when she cannot stand alone. Nothing is to go to the superintendent that any one else can answer. No one earning \$75 a month is to do work worth only \$40 a month. No one is to be judged by what he means to do, but by what he does. A mistake is never a discredit unless it occurs a second time. Records are used to disclose omissions and weaknesses, to point the way to workers or to work needing attention. Whether a person is asking unnecessary questions is decided by his supervising officer, just as the Association relieves the applicant of all responsibility for indiscriminate relief.



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Daily reports are summarised on weekly blanks and on monthly reports showing how one visitor's work compares with that of the others. Monthly reports set totals for this month and for the fiscal year to date, side by side with totals for corresponding period of last year and separate columns for decrease or increase. Supervisors, superintendent and board look at the changes, not at the total. Why this excess in shoes? 2,500 additional school cases. Why so few tenement complaints? Visitors have grown inattentive. Why the marked increase in Miss L.'s visits? She counted a visit to purchase groceries for five families as five visits instead of one. The record alone answers no questions; it prompts the responsible officers to ask questions that can be satisfactorily answered only by investigation. In one instance a visitor's protest against additional work was traced in an hour by means of records to discoveries that ended in the request for her resignation. What we learned from this catastrophe we now get by a comparative table. Is not much time wasted by visitor and stenographer in the entry—"As family is doing well, case is referred to superintendent of relief for closing?"—New entry adopted,—*R. F. C.*

The Association had never classified results or conditions leading to treatment. While it had known, the proportion of each year's families that came to it for the first time, it had never asked how many of those previously aided had been coming regularly for two,

three or more years. It had tabulated in a general way the immediate cause, whether lack of work, sickness, shiftlessness, intemperance, desertion, old age, mental and physical defects. Little or no use, however, had been made of this information. Once or twice indignant protests against aid to strikers had caused an inquiry as to the number who were idle because of strikes or intemperance; beyond the mere fact that only 18 out of 2,700 families at a particular time were in this class, no lesson was learned from the inquiry. In 1906 the card on page 171 was adopted, differing somewhat from the card devised by the C. O. S. Material relief is recorded on the back by months.

The use of figures as keys to occupation, nationality, whether strikers, inexcusably idle, etc., is an economy device familiar in business as well as statistical work. Like the numerical file, it is just as easy to remember that 32 means German as if it were written out and it is much quicker to record.

In the financial office a number of changes have been made. The work grew so that it was necessary either to simplify bookkeeping or multiply bookkeepers. Desire to know whether or not the expenses were within the budget, how this year compared with last year, how donations for general work compared with donations for fresh-air work, and how the expenses of both compared with receipts,—kept the bookkeeper busy answering questions. He learned from experience that certain questions would probably be asked, and for his

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own convenience started certain subsidiary ledgers and note books in which he put down the desired facts as they occurred. Even then, however, he was unable to keep up, and to save the double writing, a classified cash book and voucher register were substituted, so that, now, instead of having one column for food and clothes and shoes and medicine, each item has its own column, permitting instant summary of business for a day, a week, a month or a year. Instead of requiring three signatures for each of twenty vouchers showing payments by one visitor, the visitor now certifies to each individual account, the twenty vouchers are put in one envelope and approved by the supervising officer. Gradually the separate column entry saved so much time that the same principle has been extended to the books of the separate departments, on the principle of the daily report shown opposite page 160.

How improved methods release energy for more efficient service is illustrated in the changes made in the system of appealing for funds and of recording donations. A former contributor wrote with his renewed contribution the following:—"I have received four letters and four envelopes and four cards. That *seems* like a waste of good money." Because of desire to know that had led to careful separation of each item entering into expense of appeals, it was possible at once to win the contributor's approval by the following letter:

"Regarding the four letters, four envelopes and four

Statistical Card For Relief Work 171

A. I. C. P. Number		Address		Birth		Social Status		Per week last year			
1		2		3		4		5			
6		7		8		9		10			
11		12		13		14		15			
16		17		18		19		20			
21		22		23		24		25			
26		27		28		29		30			
31		32		33		34		35			
Referred by		Letter Addressed		ABNORMAL CONDITIONS		YEARS IN		Birthplace and Race		Church	
Members of Family		Age		Occupation		Out of Work or School		Earning Grade		Physical	
Men											
Women											
(See)											
Children at home											
Unmarried Children away from home											
(See)											
Others in Household											
Married children away from home											
Children dead											
General											
Cause											
Child											
Reason											
Period											
TREATMENT											
Maternal Relief											
Instruction only											
Instruction C-S-Y-C											
Vetting Clinics											
Nurse											
Physician											
Dispensary											
Hospital											
Special Diet											
C. P. W. S. C.											
Scholarship											
Free Lodgings											
Free Meals											
Specified SOURCE OUTSIDE OF A. I. C. P.											
Relatives											
Employer											
Other Private Source											
Church											
Other Society											
Appld											
Co-operation											
Work Refused											
TOTAL CASH KNOWN											

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cards mailed to you, may we hope that your underlining 'seems' will make welcome this explanation? If you received more than one appeal at one time it was a clerical error and certainly wasteful. If, however, you refer to four appeals of four different dates, our explanation is as follows—In this particular instance the four letters, four envelopes and four cards cost, including postage and service, about eleven cents. You have sent your cheque for \$10. If, as we trust, our account of this year's work demonstrates that you have made a good investment, and if you continue your support, our four reminders would seem not to have been a waste of good money. Since this appeal went out we have received over \$10,000, which would not have come had it not been for an expenditure of less than \$200 in stating the emergency of our situation.

"You see, knowing the work intimately, our officers are convinced that the reason we do not receive a response is that the appeal does not reach the hoped-for contributor, or perhaps that business matters have driven the subject for the time out of mind. This whole question of charitable appealing has been given too little serious study. We are never quite sure as to the wisdom of a policy until after it has been tested. We always welcome suggestions and criticisms, as these make progress easier."

Four times a year \$800 was spent on appealing to 18,000 non-contributors. Not until 1904 was it learned that both the November appeal and the May appeal brought less than they cost, every one having been satisfied with the unclassified totals showing that the return from all four appeals was about \$8,000.

Study of Appealing Methods 173

The character of the November and May appeals was immediately changed, non-contributors receiving a different kind of appeal from that sent those whose interest had already been awakened. Later these appeals were omitted and second emergency appeals sent out in mid-winter and mid-summer with better results. An effort having once been begun to compare critically receipt from appeal with cost of appeal, tests were made with different kinds of type, with different methods of approach, so that by 1905 the board was ready to experiment with paid advertising. The prejudice against paying for the privilege of announcing social needs was met with the statement that \$3,200 was being spent each year to appeal to 18,000 non-contributors. The charitable work of the community was being mainly supported by 20,000 givers, one-third of whom carried the greater part of the burden. Using the press to make known opportunities for helping the needy was regarded as no less legitimate in itself than using the press to make known to the needed how to help themselves. Personal appeals, collections, fairs, eulogistic notices in the newspapers—either singly or combined—these methods were not reaching a sufficient number of possible givers to test fairly the public's interest in charitable work. It was too much to expect editors, however generous, to print appeals for the same cause in three or five successive issues, except where the appeals chanced to have a journalistic value. In other words,

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except in the case of the few charities that happened to enjoy special privileges or to be engaged in news-making work, completely effective use of the press was impossible unless space was bought. English charities were using this method; that it paid them was inferable from the fact that 52 charitable advertisements appeared in one issue of the *London Times*. Whether paid appeals would prove a good investment was a matter of experiment in America.

In the summer of 1905 advertised appeals costing \$676 brought directly \$2,400 from 245 individual contributors besides numerous friends who aided through fairs and entertainments. Of this number 117 gave \$658 in 1906. There was, therefore, a net return on the first summer's advertising of \$2,382; probably several contributors will continue to give for many years. Indirectly these notices undoubtedly contributed to an untraced increase of \$11,300 in fresh air receipts. The following winter \$700 expended in advertising relief needs led to numerous gifts of \$1 to \$100 and to at least one new friend whose will provides for a gift of \$20,000. During the

In Memoriam

Inquiries are invited as to suitable objects for Memorial Gifts or Funds.

The Association's 63 years' experience in learning and meeting human needs, in thousands of instances every year, is wholly at your service. R. S. Minturn, Treasurer, Room 210, No. 105 East 22 Street.

**N. Y. Association for Improving the
1843 Condition of the Poor 1906**

Advertising Charitable Needs 175

summer and autumn of 1906 advertising was continued and brought directly a return of \$5 for every dollar of cost. Indirectly these paid notices helped to complete a fund of \$250,000 for the Seaside Hospital, and increased by \$15,000 the receipts for general fresh air work. A careful count is kept of donations returned with the key number given to each magazine and newspaper. Entirely apart from the financial advantage of this policy, is the great moral advantage of informing the entire community of the needs of that community and of the opportunities to help. Those in distress know, as they should know, where relief can be found; those appealed to by the unfortunate know, as they should know, where help will be gladly and promptly given; those having a desire to aid know, as they should know, where their investment may be made to pay high dividends.

The partnership of contributors is recognised by a personal word telling them about the disposition of their gifts or explaining the status of work on the day the receipt is made. This practice was begun in answer to lapsed contributors, or those giving small sums with expressions of regret that their gifts could not be in proportion to their interest. To write personal notes acknowledging interest took time. That it paid, was indicated by notes of thanks,—“I have been contributing to various charities for twenty years, and this is the first time that I ever received more than a formal printed receipt.” “When I had the letter telling about

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the first child in a bed I named at Sea Breeze, I felt as though I wanted to name five beds." "That is the kind of letter I like to receive. I enclose my cheque for \$1,000." What is more important, the attitude of the financial staff of the Association has changed toward beneficiary and toward contributor. The giver is represented, not exploited. It is assumed that he must be in sympathy with the work, and it is an accident of his own obligations or a defect in our educational work if he decreases or discontinues his money contributions. We could, therefore, in all sincerity write to a contributor who regretted that \$75 intended for Sea Breeze (the Association's summer home for poor children and mothers) had gone to a sick foreman,— "We regard that as a gift to the Association,—just as we regard a vote for more efficient schools, for cleaner streets, for a pure milk supply, as support of the Association's work. Sea Breeze is an attitude of mind, not a place." Lest these personal notes shall indicate waste of time and stationery, and also to prevent their becoming perfunctory, brief statements fitted to the day's problem or the contributor's interest are typewritten on the back of the receipt, for example:—

Mrs. Blank will be pleased that by to-night our relief visitors will have played Santa Claus, with gifts no less cheerful because substantial, for some 8,000 children and parents. Our annual report shows that we



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do our best to keep as much as possible of the Christmas spirit in winter and summer relief work. . . .

May we write you later in the week just how we have played Santa Claus with your gift? To-night we are mailing you a copy of our last report which, on page 32, tells of last Christmas and of the spirit it is easier to keep throughout the year because of this week's greetings.

Old contributors and new contributors have their different attitudes toward the agency helped. It became necessary to know whether the donation was the first or tenth; how long the giver's name had been on the mailing list. It was also a help to know whether the gift was increased or decreased. Is the decrease due to the fact that an appeal is sent in November to a giver who answered first a midwinter appeal? Should appeals be sent in the month when gifts are sent? Do contributors dislike to be appealed to more than once during twelve months? Hence the contribution card disclosing at a glance to the addressing clerk the month when appeals should be addressed, the regularity of gifts, their amount for various funds. This card also points out promptly which contributors have failed to renew their gifts during the current year. To insure proper record of each contribution it was thought necessary to have it written several times: (1) in a donation book; (2) in a cash book (3) alphabetically upon a register of gifts; (4) on a receipt; (5) on a receipt stub; (6) the name and address on



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the envelope. Will you compute the time required to write six times each of 5,000 entries giving your full name, house number, street, city, state and amount of your gift?

If to this is added the time required to look up in local registers gifts from summer or winter hotels to make sure that donors are non-residents, it is obvious that prosperity has its difficulties. In mid-summer, 1906, the worker in charge of this department replied to a remonstrance because the Association office was two or three days behind in sending

PART OF LAST YEAR'S WORK

Relief Dept., Families - 3,927
 " " Other Persons *2,687
 Fresh Air Outings - - 23,051
 Baths provided - - 355,266
 Visits made - - - 84,039

SOME SPECIAL ACTIVITIES

Campaign for Pure Milk
 For Increased Hospital Support
 For Physical Welfare of School Children
 Sea Breeze Hospital for Tuberculous Children
 \$250,000 Raised for Permanent Sea Side Hospital
 Open Air Camp for Sick Babies
 foot of East 65th Street

ANNUAL NEEDS

For all purposes - \$150,000
 Life Members - - \$250
 Annual Members \$10 and up
 *2,602 homeless men and women aided through Joint Application Bureau.

No. 1431

The New York
*acknowledges a d
 with thanks.*

\$.....

To.....

receipts,—“The old system is twenty-five years behind the times anyway.” This led at once to a thorough overhauling that saves five-sixths the labour. Now one single writing of the name, address and amount on the receipt serves every purpose. The original receipt goes to the contributor in a window envelope; the carbon second is filed serially and chronologically; the contribution card shows the receipt number; the cash book must agree with the receipts filed away for the day, as the receipts must agree with the count of the clerk who opens the mail; the subscribers’ cards on which the receipts are entered must agree with mailing clerk, the cashier, and the total for the receipts. The time formerly spent in writing each name, address and amount five times, is now available for educational work, for obtaining new names for mailing list, for studying the effect of various appeals upon possible givers, and for watching carefully the sums not paid as usual to date, or for sending a personal word to those whose letters suggest that such word will be more welcome than a formal receipt.

The annual report is illustrated. Effort is made to interest contributors in the work they make possible. Opportunities for benevolence are described. Black type is used in first lines of paragraphs or between paragraphs, to facilitate hurried reading. The summary tables give at a glance the essential lessons of the year. Policies about which there is difference of opinion are squarely faced and the Association’s position

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is stated. That it costs money to give money away wisely is admitted.

If your gifts are to reach those in most urgent need, families should be invited in order of need, not in order of application. The earliest plea is often for the least needy; one family whose friends made an urgent plea had an annual income of over \$3,000. Actual need can be learned as a rule only by visiting the home.

Of 62,464 individuals visited at home, 23,051 were given outings. Of the remainder many needed other things than outings. Hundreds were able to pay for outings for themselves. The entire cost of visiting 62,464 individuals, of inviting the sick and broken down, of correspondence, appeals, general management was \$11,416.28, or \$.18 per person referred to us. Of this amount \$7,184.97 is chargeable to insurance—to those who did not go to Sea Breeze—and is not included in the cost of entertainment of those who did go.

As to legacies, it is assumed that a bequest is intended to perpetuate a giver's interest in the work. Every legacy is therefore placed immediately in the Reserve Fund. But it is also assumed "that the deceased benefactors of the Association would not have wished their gifts to remain intact at the expense of refusing relief to those in urgent need." Criticism and suggestion are invited, mistakes frankly admitted, or explained and justified when possible. Many important changes have been due to advice and hints from interested contributors. For example the contributions are footed and carried forward page for page instead of the customary final footing that no one can easily prove.

Several features of the financial statements were not

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understood. For example, the reported cash balance of \$59,715 at the close of the sixty-third year seemed inconsistent with the president's explanation of a deficit of \$17,100; the report failed to show that the balance consisted of restricted funds not available for current uses, plus a working fund borrowed from the Association's Reserve. The fresh air balance of \$34,000 seemed inconsistent with the urgent appeals during the last weeks of the summer season; the report failed to show that this latter balance consisted of \$20,000 given towards a hospital building, of \$4,000 necessary to begin the next fresh air season, and of \$8,000 specially given for the following winter's work for crippled, tuberculous children. It appeared from the report that it had cost \$23,000 to place material relief worth \$41,000 in tenement homes; there was no disclosure of the important facts that, of \$53,739 given last year and available for relief in homes, every dollar had gone directly into homes (\$41,000 in food, fuel, medicine, etc., and the remainder in services of nurse, visiting cleaners, visiting teachers of cooking and sewing and visitors), and that the entire expense of administration had been borne by interest on invested funds. Succeeding reports may be expected to make clear not merely for expert accountants but for the least experienced contributor, exactly for what purpose funds are spent and how used.

Efficiency in charitable work requires constant tests of worker, of director, and of work itself. Occasion-

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ally a society's report overstates the value and the volume of work done. It is, however, generally true that the best indication of a society's breadth of purpose, consistency and efficiency is its annual summary of work done, of work planned and of money needed. Time does not permit givers to examine at first hand the various charitable agencies of their community, any more than it permits a personal investigation of individual applicants for relief. There is, however, time enough for every contributor to apply efficiency tests to any society's appeals, to its annual statements, or to its answers to specific questions. When those responsible for the direction of charitable work substitute result for motive, efficiency for goodness, as a test of their own efficiency,—then and only then will charitable work have more general and more generous support.



IX

Efficiency in Preventing Crime

OF no great public duty have we asked so few questions, counted, compared and summarised so little as with regard to our treatment of the criminal. At enormous expense we have built courthouses, gaols and prisons to fit a criminal code whose traditional purpose is to grade punishment according to microscopically graded offences. It is true the statistical method has been tried, but for the most part only by so-called criminal anthropologists or criminologists to see whether and how far the criminal's body, brain and motive depart from the normal. We have sought to learn why men drink alcohol to excess, and to what degree their grandfather's shiftlessness, drunkenness or intermarriage is responsible. We have tried to explain by heredity and physical measurements why some negroes rob hen roosts and watermelon patches, why some small boys steal rides on railroads, why some ladies' maids pilfer jewelry and laces, and what succession of events led the superintendent of a Sunday-school to loot a bank. Offenders are photographed, measurements and impressions taken of their fingers and thumbs. What we have not analysed and photographed in this way is ourselves, our attitude toward

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the offender and his crime, the mechanism that we have applied to treating that offender and the results upon his later life and upon society of the penalty we have imposed. We have expressed little interest in the character or the acts of a magistrate who flips a coin to decide whether a man should be turned loose upon society or imprisoned. Because we have set out to count and estimate forces beyond our vision and are neglecting those at hand, we have very little information of value with regard to crime or criminals.

Of late there has been a tendency to challenge the beliefs of our forefathers as to gaols and gaolers, judges and juries and their remedy for crime. We talk less of vengeance, vindication of the law, deterrent effect of short hair, stripes and lockstep. In public, at least, penologists urge the humanity and the economy of reforming offenders, of preventing crime, turning on more light, training and educating criminals to correct distorted ideas. We now defend the indeterminate sentence that fits the man's need, not his crime. Everything is done to prepare the prisoner for his return to industry instead of emphasising his isolation. To test the keeper's judgment that a man may be trusted he is paroled until relapse is unlikely. But all our talk has not as yet effected one per cent. of the changes in criminal jurisprudence that our newer and humaner professions demand.

The old penology would not have been allowed for centuries to mete out injustice and injury to offender

and to society, had efficiency tests compared what it said with what it did. Instinct penology among primitive men punished with the death penalty nearly every act that injured the tribe or its leaders; facts tardily convinced rulers that society could not afford to lose a fighter every time a rule was broken. Complainants learned tardily, too, that they were given remorse, not revenge, when former friends or relatives were tortured to death for offences since forgiven. "Eye for eye and tooth for tooth" was tried, but was, if possible, less satisfactory to both society and prisoner than the death penalty. Had restriction on liberty, the dungeon and scourges been tested, it would have been seen earlier that the influential and the rich had distinct advantages then as now. They were able to purchase immunity from both discomfort and disgrace. Even insignificant persons were permitted to write such things as "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Paradise Lost." A superficial test would have shown that gaols full to overflowing do not pay creditors or inculcate reverence for law. For over a century the gaol method has been successful only in the respect mentioned by a boy sheriff of a boy republic, exulting over a new gaol,—"Success? Why last Thursday every fellow in the Republic was in that gaol but me and the gaoler!" Despite repeated failures legislatures have gone on fitting to the crime the days in gaol or the money fine that would vindicate the law and punish the prisoner. Criminal equity has shaded penalties

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according to fluctuations in the "market rate" of crime with the grotesque precision ridiculed recently by an observer indignant at a sentence of 20 years and 17 days,—“I could account for the 20 years all right, if the judge would explain how he got the 17 days.”

The revulsion against the retributive justice of our fathers we owe in large part to men and women who visited gaols in the interest of the physical and spiritual welfare of prisoners. Having no doubts whatever as to the justice of the gaol sentence, they resented the condition of the gaol. The world over, the first protest has been against buildings filled with vermin and with disease germs. Charges of demoralising idleness, immorality, injustice, have followed owing to repeated pictures similar to the following:

A small boy of nine is in an ill-ventilated, dark room in a county gaol. For what? He is accused of having stolen a pair of shoes worth \$1.25. He has already waited for trial fifty-three days, at a cost to the county in board alone of \$13.25. He must still wait thirty days, although his gaolers are convinced of his innocence.

In a nearby county gaol is a young woman décolletté. For ten weeks she has been attended only by male gaolers, at an expense to the county of fifty cents a day for board alone. She herself is charged with no offence, but is waiting until her state finds three men who drugged and assaulted her while she was returning from a party. The state does not pretend to be looking for the men.

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Near the City of Brotherly Love a little girl of seven spends her days in a compartment with idle women prisoners of every description, pickpockets, street walkers and in the next corridor a murderess. The little girl enjoys the dignity of being a menace to the United States, and is held to answer the charge of having offered a counterfeit bill in exchange for bread.

A girl of sixteen is sentenced to two years in prison for having stolen fifty cents; a woman of forty is given two years for having "converted," to quote the district attorney, "brunettes into peroxide blondes and confined them in a brothel."

A girl of seventeen, of somewhat more refined features than the other women about her, confesses that she is serving her second sentence. She is willing to do anything but go to a reformatory or take any step that suggests a desire on her part to regain her footing. Further inquiry established the fact that until her first sentence she had been a good girl. Her mother in a fit of temper made a complaint of disorderly conduct, that is, pounding on the door and screaming. During her first ninety days in gaol associations and habits were cultivated that required her return soon after discharge and made of her a confirmed criminal.

In almost any county gaol a group of men may be found in durance vile and idle, playing cards and swapping yarns. How a few of them get to gaol is illus-

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trated by two pleas that I heard in one court the same morning,—“Guilty, your Honour, but I wasn’t there,” and “Guilty, your Honour, but I didn’t do it.” Upon inquiry, the court learned what should not have surprised him, that the defendants were advised by their lawyers to plead guilty as a means of hastening a dismissal or of insuring a light sentence,—the prosecuting attorney’s method of making a good record for successful prosecution and for clemency. Another prisoner, charged with burglary, declared that he was hounded by the police and called a gaol bird until no avenue of honest employment was open to him. If these men are in gaol for the sake of protecting society or to better the men, neither effect is accomplished by permitting them to associate in idleness with confirmed offenders, learning to despise the name of justice, and to disdain, if not to hate, society. If they are imprisoned merely because they cannot pay fines or costs, then it is poor business to keep them idle, when they might be working and paying their fine.

After their protests against filth, overcrowding and idleness, visitors who went to gaol to save souls of equal value noticed that equal crimes were treated with unequal penalties. Seeing the same men in gaol over and over again led them to doubt the deterrent effect of gaol sentence. As they saw that prisoners were enemies of society, they boldly asserted that society could not be protected by any penalty that made men unrepentant, resentful and lacking in self-respect.

Finally these visits taught the essential similarity of the men in gaol and their fellows outside, judges not uncommonly making snapshot opinions as to two perpetrators of the same crime, sentencing one to ninety days in gaol and letting the other go scot-free without either fine or parole. Newspapers call attention to such incongruities, and the general public comes to welcome cartoons such as one quoting two wealthy fugitives from justice,—

“Say, Mac, I notice by this morning’s paper that a poor man with a large family has been arrested in New York for stealing four cents’ worth of sugar from the Sugar Trust.”

“Dear me! How distressing it is to contemplate the utter depravity of the lower classes.”

A rich man’s paper begins to suggest that there are more criminals outside than inside penal institutions: “For the petty, resourceless rogues who fall by the wayside society has no mercy and little thought; but for the greater criminals society’s code is: as long as grand juries do not indict you and judges do not send you to the penitentiary we will dine with you and ask you to dine with us, and you and yours shall have unimpaired intercourse with us and ours.”

From such challenge and protest grew the new penology. However difficult it may be to trace an offender back four or five generations, or to weigh the physical and moral elements within him that cause him to be caught in a criminal act, there is no difficulty what-

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ever in counting instances such as the above. The sanitary conditions of a gaol can be described as accurately as a railroad accident. We can learn absolutely whether it is practicable for a prisoner to breathe clean air and to have a clean body, and whether our treatment is calculated to make a brute or a man of him. We can tell whether he is idle and how much it costs to keep him in idleness, how much industrial energy is withdrawn from society by making a burden of one who ought to be working to support himself and his family. It is easy to count the number of times a prisoner has been in the same gaol; it is practical to tell whether a judge or governor or president is using any other standard than political expediency in dispensing his so-called clemency, and what his whim or favouritism may cost the public. But in spite of the ease with which this definite knowledge may be maintained, it is generally true that no one, not even judge, jury, prosecuting attorney, or trustee of penal institutions, has cared to know the significant facts about these institutions. In other words, those responsible for the prevention of crime are not in the habit of applying efficiency tests to themselves and their methods.

Wherever questions have been asked persistently as to efficiency of gaol, gaoler, judge or jury, the public has demanded action in accordance with the facts. Crime interests the average man more than goodness, partly because it occurs less frequently and partly

because of that vindictiveness—holier than thou opiate—which the great publicist Dooley has summarised thus,—“We’ll never git rid of hangin’ so long’s the people likes it so much.” Whatever we want for the criminal we want hard. Interest could easily be sustained with proper effort, for newspapers make association with crime part of our minimum standard of living. How questions lead speedily to action, if they happen to be the right questions, is shown by the recent successful fight in New Jersey for the abolition of sheriffs’ profits on prison fare in county gaols. Instinct revolted against a system that could encourage flagrant injustice. Comfort of mothers required protest. Commerce and cupidity stirred taxpayers, and those politicians who were not sheriffs, to echo the governor’s slogan against sheriffs’ salaries of \$7,000 to \$30,000—“The labourer is worthy of his hire, but one labourer is not worth the hire of two or three.” Stories of injustice and demoralisation in the name of justice caused speculation in prison food to become a public nuisance. Anti-slum, pro-slum and religious motives demanded that the state stop subsidising crime by making it to the interest of sheriffs to keep prisoners in gaol as long as possible, to deprive them of decent surroundings and to oppose prison reforms.

Facts showed that in counties where the sheriff was permitted to speculate on prison fare the gaol was dirty, undisciplined and a disgrace to a Christian community. In counties where fees were abolished there

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was an interest in the prisoner's welfare, not in his meals, and so far as selfish motives operated, they tended to shorten the prisoner's term. The state was interested by the reiterated appeal of the *New Jersey Review of Charities and Correction* to all sides of each man, and in 1906 substituted salaries for fees.

The old penology is challenged not only because of its general mis-application but because its reasoning is proved to be false. The new penology seems now to be based upon a sound interpretation of experience with retributive and deterrent punishment. Never was reasoning more humane or more efficient than that of the thought-chain ending in Probation and Juvenile Court. If society can conduct its business with so many not yet detected prisoners at large; if it can re-absorb offenders capriciously probated without supervision by judicial clemency; if men already in prison may be safely pardoned or paroled, then surely it is safe to re-absorb without sending to gaol many convicted offenders, especially juveniles and first or minor adult offenders. It is better for a man to support his family by work outside of gaol than to make a public burden of them and himself while he attends a school of vice. If cash fines may safely be accepted in lieu of imprisonment, fines on the instalment plan should have even greater moral and economic value.

But gaols are not reformed by simply abolishing fees or establishing juvenile courts. Not correct ideas but efficient men make reformatories practise what they

preach. Probation is discredited in many places because no efficiency tests are applied. How can a drunken probation officer cure a probationer of alcoholism? Inefficient probation is no better, it may be worse than official clemency without supervision; will in fact often harm both criminal and society more than the most efficient gaols and reformatories and prisons.

The goodness fallacy asks us to look no farther than the motives, gestures and pretensions of those who eloquently extol probation, juvenile court, indeterminate sentence, reformatories. Efficiency asks that the new ideals *prove* their superiority by a show of results.

How many probationers are there, $\div$ total number of offenders sentenced = ?

Probationers re-arrested $\div$ total number of probationers = ?

Percentage of probationers re-arrested subtracted from percentage sentenced to gaol and re-arrested = ?

Percentage of probationers re-arrested $\div$ percentage paroled without supervision re-arrested = ?

Prison board saved + fines paid + wages earned = ?

Calling things by their right names, putting everything with other things of the same kind, that is, classification, is most important in determining the efficiency of probation. How will you explain the fact that, in spite of vast savings shown by computing cost of keeping probationers in gaol had they not

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been probated, your gaol expenses have not decreased? Perhaps the judge is placing on probation only such offenders as he formerly dismissed without supervision. Perhaps the law is not being applied at all to meet the most serious conditions that gave rise to it. Is the judge using the probation officer for investigation before trial? Does the probation officer sit in his office and let the probationer bring a card to be punched weekly or monthly, or does he visit the home? Is his work of such a character that the mother of a boy on probation would ask his help—as I heard one do the other day—for a child not yet brought to court? Or does he encourage mothers and friends to conspire with probationers, telling false stories of sickness and accident and employment to conceal violation of instructions? Why should such questions be answered by guess work and why should they imply the least doubt as to the overwhelming superiority of the probation idea over the gaol idea? The sounder the idea, the more important is it that it shall not fail or be misrepresented or misunderstood.

It is difficult for laymen to comprehend and to give united support when doctors disagree, not only as to method of appointing probation officers and supervising probationers, but also as to the results already obtained. In Philadelphia all children brought into the juvenile court are examined for removable physical defects or for chronic defects that make it extremely difficult for the children to act normally; the National

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Congress of Humane Societies has just declared that the Philadelphia practice is unconstitutional, subversive of the law and an unwarranted interference by the court in private affairs. The National Mothers' Congress demands the appointment of probation officers by private benevolent committees and agencies; in New Jersey the court appoints; in New York the state commission recommends that a volunteer advisory body appoint officers. In Denver the court is the judge and jury and probation officer and pal. A platform lecturer extols the volunteer, friendly officer that guides the wavering footstep of the offender; many experts declare such volunteer service a failure. In New York and Chicago all juvenile court work is done by one judge; Philadelphia judges take their turn in performing this duty. To read the strictures on probation, one would be convinced that it was not suitable for children, more especially girls, nor for second offenders and inebriates, and that it breeds crime by removing fear of prison sentence. Whether and in how far and for what reason these strictures are true may be learned and must be learned if probation is to have a fair trial. Just because probation means a different thing in every court is it essential to have efficiency tests that so record step by step the experience with each probationer, as to show results to him and to society.

As the Child Labour movement has temporarily focused attention on the age of the child rather than

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on his physical welfare or his preparation for industry, so enthusiasm for the new penology has concentrated attention on the offenders at the bar rather than on conditions that encourage violation of law. We talk for the most part about preventive measures, yet probation and reformatories are direct preventives for those persons only who have once been convicted of crime. In attending a dozen State and National Conferences of Charities and Correction and in reading several programs of the National Prison Congress I have never known mention of the possibility of making a police department the most efficient of all checks in preventing crime. Statistical experts have declared that no trustworthy data as to crime can ever be obtained until police stations, police courts and police officers keep adequate records of arrests, cases tried, convicted, withdrawn, dismissed. In a general way in most cities it is taken for granted that many patrolmen and "men higher up" abet crime, even if they do not incite and exploit it for their own pecuniary profit. That the number and efficiency of patrolmen affect the value of property is not sufficiently appreciated, nor that plenty of police and plenty of street lights would release for school and health purposes a large part of taxes that now go to gaols, reformatories and probation. Dark streets and sleepy patrolmen make work for many gaolers. Whether streets are dark enough to conceal crime or light enough to make its detection easy, if not certain, and whether police-

men are adequately paid, properly disciplined and efficient can be ascertained if citizens will for six consecutive months ask a dozen obvious questions and secure their answers. Whether prosecuting attorneys work consistently, consecutively and efficiently for the interest of the public, with the intelligent co-operation of the public, or erupt, like Vesuvius, can likewise be learned. A plethora of promises and then a dearth of trials and convictions should teach the public that in dealing with crime as with other human affairs, the question is not, "Who's in?" but "What's happening?"

What the public does with the offender and not the number of offenders is the test of efficiency in preventing crime. An increase in arrests is not a sure sign of increasing criminality: it may mean increasing blackmail; it may mean the approach of election; it often means increased vigilance and efficiency on the part of the police. An increase in the number of convictions for a particular crime may show a falling off of offences and offenders until "traitors are no longer numerous enough to make treason respectable." To look in a prisoner's throat for defective breathing organs is more important than to take a thumb impression. To compare the physical condition and industrial efficiency of a prisoner, after he has spent seven years in Sing Sing, with his condition and efficiency upon entrance, is infinitely more important than to know the dimensions of a birth mark. To com-

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pare the previous condition, education and fitness with present efficiency and present condition, is worth more to society than to classify the degrees of immorality and offensiveness of those who commit crime. If we knew more of graft within prison walls, of exploitation of prison labour for private gain, of favouritism shown prisoners of influence, of society's failure to protect itself and to help criminals, it would be less difficult to ascertain significant facts about the causes of individual crime.

If the citizen is placed on trial every time a prisoner is sent to gaol, then criminology becomes a matter of vital consequence to every citizen, and he owes it to himself and to the children affected by his attitude toward crime, to ask the right questions about himself as patrolman, sergeant, commissioner, judge, gaoler, probation officer.

As to Myself

Am I secretly committing crime?

Am I doing things which would be considered crimes or misdemeanors if done by residents of the slum?

Am I misrepresenting my taxable property?

Is my legal residence the same as my actual residence, or do I reside in Newport for the sake of avoiding taxes where I sleep, eat, work and draw my profits?

Am I taking advantage of my strength to deprive my waitress, my coachman, my employee, my salesman of the right to health, to independent

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existence, to some of the pleasures with which I am surfeited?

Am I indifferent to wrongs committed by the government of which I am a part and by its judiciary, its police, its gaols?

Would I rather pension an ex-convict than give him work in my shop?

Have I taken any pains to know whether justice or injustice is met with by those accused of crime?

Am I infinitely more interested in suppressing flagrant vice than in preventing flagrant injustice?

Am I giving acquiescence, passive resistance or intelligent, active resistance to forces that increase crime and prevent discharged criminals from regaining their footing?

If made uncomfortable by stories of crime, what am I doing to minimise their number and their seriousness?

How are my children influenced by the gaol system of my city, county and state?

As to the Police

How many patrolmen should there be to give equal protection to all men and all property?

How many are there?

Are they properly distributed and equally worked, or are many given soft snaps and special details?

Are special details, involving little work, given to the infirm or to those who have pull?

Do records show clearly—

Time, place and cause of offence charged?

Number of charges proved?

Number of charges unproved?

Is the reason for a more adequate staff and for a

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flood of light in all districts, especially so-called criminal districts, stated in vague terms or so clearly that taxpayers can see that it is cheaper to inhibit the impulse to crime than to punish criminals?

How many hours are arrested persons detained without meals?

Is the condition of police stations filthy; is ventilation or overcrowding such as to rob prisoners of all self-respect and to cause them to hate law?

Are vultures allowed to prey upon the unfortunate by furnishing bail and other favours at usury?

As to the Court

Is it living in the 6th, 16th or 20th century?

Are probation officers used before and after trial?

Has each court an alphabetical index of offenders for all courts of the city?

Does the county judge keep an alphabetical list of offenders?

Are offenders railroaded to jail, dismissed with reprimand, indiscriminately fined or placed on probation?

Does the court make snapshot judgments as to duration of sentence, size of fine?

Do grand juries refer to a large number of cases that never ought to be tried?

Has the jury system outlived its usefulness?

Is there no way of reducing the cost of convicting influential criminals or homicides?

Would it be well to have one judge's pardons reviewed by another?

Should the courts have the power now possessed by president and governor to remit sentence or to

- pardon? Should executive officers publish a summary of their use of the pardoning power?
- Is the prosecuting attorney permitted to push for conviction and to threaten innocent men with imprisonment unless they plead guilty?
- Is the court room orderly, dignified, calculated to increase respect for law and decency, or is it unclean, dark, dingy, ugly, disordered and calculated to make an offender vindictively resolve to "get back at" the law?
- Is any report made by the court giving an account of its stewardship, setting forth its cost to society and its efficiency or inefficiency?
- Is it possible in our community for police magistrates to sell injustice and favouritism to thugs and corporations and to expose the necessitous to unscrupulous lawyers?
- Is there any reason why the accounts of judges should not be audited the same as the accounts of cashiers?

As to Gaols, Prisons, Reformatories, etc.

- Do their records show clearly facts regarding the accused, his offences, time spent, cost to the county?
- Are accounts businesslike; are counties charged for their prisoners at state institutions?
- Is the prisoner in gaol because he could not afford the alternative fine?
- Could he have worked out his fine?
- Are prisoners idle; if working, is their work educative?
- Is employment remunerative?
- Are children kept apart from adults?

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Are women attended by males or females?

Are witnesses treated like offenders?

Is a physical examination made of prisoners?

Are meals suitable?

Are chaplain and volunteer missionaries learning what prisoners need or are they praying, as I once heard a saintly soul, that Heaven shall "teach these men their baseness and their unfitness to sit at the feet of God"?

What is done for discharged prisoners?

How often do magistrates, attorneys, leading philanthropists and teachers visit?

Is the sheriff's "rake off" on food abolished?

Is it to the advantage of any one else to keep the gaol full, or to keep an individual criminal one hour longer than the law requires?

Are offences classified and the results studied?

Does a comparison of this year with five years ago indicate that crimes of violence are increasing in proportion to population, or merely that prosecuting officers have been more efficient?

Does the increase in convictions for newer forms of crime, such as rebating, indicate greater criminality or greater vigilance on the part of the public?

Is special provision made for the criminal insane; for imbeciles; for mental defectives? .

Is there state supervision of prison records and prison experience and state publication of comparative results?

Statistics of taxpayers in their relation to criminals it would be very easy to get. Statistics of criminals of special interest to taxpayers we are beginning to get.

When Justice Shall Cease to Injure 203

Statistics of crime mean at present almost nothing. Unclassified totals respecting the amount of crime and its increase are absolutely worthless. Just as health conditions are misunderstood by people who think of deaths rather than of causes of sickness, so conditions of crime are misread by those who count crimes punished rather than offences committed. Few crimes in the calendar offend so greatly against moral and social law as do good people who fail to assure themselves that through their system of police, juries, judges and penal institutions they are not adding to the sum total of human wretchedness. If capital punishment fails to protect society, if as is maintained by many experts, it increases homicidal motives and homicidal attempts, then those states that hang to death or electrocute are committing a murderous blunder. If in our efforts to make our streets safe we render them less safe, if instead of increasing goodness we increase vice and crime, then we are neither getting our money's worth nor earning an easy conscience. It is utopian to expect that the time will ever come when individuals shall cease to offend against society. It is not utopian, however, to look forward to a time when society shall cease to offend against individuals either before or after those individuals are convicted of crime.

X

Efficiency in Religious Work

"WHAT would be your judgment as to the efficacy of your mission work if you were to find that the result of this winter's work is one drunkard converted and ninety-nine confirmed in vagrancy and hypocrisy?" My correspondent replied,—“I should say that one soul saved for eternity outweighs any number influenced for mere time.” To her the suggestion of applying the efficiency test to rescue work seemed almost a sacrilege. Most newspaper readers probably felt the same shudder and no little resentment when they read an item beginning:

COSTLY CHICAGO SALVATION.

**It Averages \$200 for Each Conversion
—Only 25 Cents in Atlanta.**

As if soul values could be computed in dollars and cents! Was ever anything more grotesque than mixing statistics and salvation! But after all, to suggest that too much money is spent in Chicago per convert obtained does not imply necessarily that a human soul is not worth an unlimited sum. It does imply, however, that one soul is not worth as much as 50 souls; that to

spend \$500 on doing the work of \$10 or to convert but one man where a different method might have converted 25, is a waste both of money and of soul opportunity.

Of course church workers and church givers are prejudiced against statistics; is not the goodness fallacy indigenous to church soil? Of course the Church sees more clearly every year the vast difference between inefficient and efficient helpers. And of course it calls the indispensable statistical method by some more agreeable name that suggests spirituality rather than mathematics. Among such names are "concordance," "comparative church history," "bible study lessons," "dictionary of biblical events," "treasurer's report," "year book," "church calendar," "annotated version," "higher criticism," "ordination." The essential ingredients of each are the same as of statistical method,—desire to know, unit of inquiry, count, comparison, subtraction, less of percentage, more of classification and summary.

Drill in the catechism is a very simple, inoffensive process of learning truths that it is desirable to know. The fine print in the margin of our Oxford Bibles tells the reader all the places where each particular idea appears in each Testament. A benevolent protestant accused of trying to win little children from their catholic moorings by having read to them lessons from the St. James version, offers prizes for the best essays on the origin of our Bible; thereupon students delve

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anew into libraries of two continents to establish dates and facts, count third century votes, compare expressions of belief in the 14th century with others of the 16th and 19th. Catechism, margin, research,—all use the statistical lantern.

Ministers with defective sense of humour will in one sermon denounce statistics and then quote Hebrew and Greek authorities to establish some hairsplitting theory as to the kind of baptism most favoured in the fourth century or the derivation of *faith* and *deacon*. There is general interest in the number who enroll in the Y. M. C. A. and in the thousands who attend the annual gatherings of the Christian Endeavour societies. Is a count of backsliders, non-attendants and non-contributors more statistical than a count of converts? Supposed reliable estimates and summaries based upon count and comparison are constantly cited by strong adherents of many faiths: the Confucian reveres age; the Mohammedan is temperate; Roman Catholic countries show the lowest percentage of illegitimate births; protestant lands have the lowest rate of illiteracy. Churchgoers who scorn statistics and its associates make dogmatic statements as to growing irreligion and will take up the time of old and young reading the statistics of Genesis and Leviticus. The difference between the statement, "God's message was given in only short words" and the statement, "500 babies die every year in the neighbourhood of our church from causes that we might pre-

vent," is not that one is statistical and the other is not, but that one has to do with literature and the other with applied religion. One is false and the other is true. The concordance has brought within reach of the humblest reader the riches of Old and New Testaments; it is no more spiritual than a concordance of significant events in the church and of significant facts with regard to church needs that would bring within reach of the humblest parishioner the riches of church experience.

We can never know what it has cost humanity that Christ's teachings have been made to bolster up such doctrines as that good intention or one step in the right direction will be accepted in lieu of effort and achievement in proportion to opportunity. The parable of the lost sheep, like that of the talents, has been perverted to mean that one is not strictly accountable for the efficient administration of his Christian effort. As a matter of fact, there is nothing in this or any other parable to warrant the belief that it would have been worth while for any shepherd to spend time looking for one lost sheep known to be at the west, if the same effort might have recovered ten lost sheep known to be in the east. The particular case in question was never intended to place in the balance one unit of any kind, whether sheep, dollar, soul or week's work, and teach the untruth that this one unit is worth 99 units of the same kind. The steward who had the use of one talent was condemned not for hiding his talent,

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not for failing to bring back some return, not because he did not try, but because he did not earn with his opportunity at least the current rate, one hundred per cent. The virgins were not permitted to focus attention on their lamps, but were rather censured for having no oil at the particular time when it was needed. The prodigal son was fêted not for running away, not for repentance, but in spite of the older brother's goodness fallacy, for the definite act of returning. Miracles were performed, not to show wonders but to meet need adequately, feed *all* of the out-door congregation, *cure* palsy, *raise* the dead, not turn him over in his grave. Dives went to Hell, not in that direction or to a sermon about it.

Desire to know has led to important discoveries and effected great revolutions in church work as elsewhere. The pew has been growing relatively stronger. The pulpit finds it necessary therefore to adapt the content and manner of its teaching to the intelligence, the needs and even the whims of the pew. The unit of engagement is no longer life or ten years or three years, but one year or "so long as service is satisfactory" to both parties. The modern pastor finds it of vital importance to know whether or not he is "suited," and if not, why not. He must analyse himself and his efforts, his auditors and their interests. He is learning the vast difference between profession and doing, preaching at and preaching for, and comes nearer and nearer to an honest admission that the best he can do

is not enough for *next time*. One of the first—and best—results of this analysis was the shortening of the sermon from two hours to one and then to 40, 35 and 25 minutes. I gratefully remember one country parson who, after measuring his own resources and applying the fatigue test to his congregation, concluded that a fifteen-minute talk was his maximum. Another exhorter, by failing to stop at this maximum of effectiveness, changed Mark Twain's intention to give \$100 for foreign missions to a demand for ten cents from the contribution plate. So eager are church workers of every description to know the efficient way to spread the Gospel, that numerous conferences are held annually in every state and for the nation. How much a worker or a parish benefits from this desire to know depends upon the technique by which intelligence is sought, upon the units of inquiry, accuracy of the count, thoroughness of classification and the intelligence with which the answer is interpreted.

One Sunday evening last summer I dropped in at a church service, where a welcome to strangers was advertised on the bulletin near the sidewalk. The Word to Strangers read:

The purpose of the church is the *development* of spiritual *manhood* and *womanhood*. Life's day may mean *folly* and *fidelity*. Life's evening may mean *regret* or *rejoicing*. The church wants to do *Its Part* in determining for you a happy destiny. The *scope* of its mission is as *Broad as Human Life*, as *Deep as Human Need*. If you are not otherwise allied, we

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cordially invite you to make your church home with us. If you are a stranger in the city, we especially welcome you to all the services of this church.

The same leaflet indicated that an assistant pastor, recently come from another city, was in charge of the church during the summer months.

When the pastor and trustees who were away on their vacation returned they undoubtedly tried to find out whether the newly chosen assistant carried out the terms of their generous welcome. All the words underscored suggest that somebody, either the pastor or the stranger, can identify the conditions of success and measure change and progress. *Development* implies a starting point, an ending point and a distance between that can be definitely valued or measured. The implication is that *spiritual manhood* is capable of detection, description and measurement. So of *folly* and *fidelity*, *regret* and *rejoicing*, something that can be pictured by itself, set over against its opposite, weighed to see its relative influence on life and on development. The words *scope*, *broad*, *deep*, suggest physical limitations. Throughout the paragraph blind wishing is not referred to, nor pretence and unsuccessful effort. On the contrary, an objective test is accepted,—something that can be posted like a book entry for a bank or a store. The Son of Man came to seek and save that which is lost. It is notable that the Son of Man did not come to talk about saving. Success is measured not by talk and pretence but by per-



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sistence and consistency in seeking the lost and by success in saving. The Christian who spends a lifetime ostensibly seeking the lost without finding them has a poor claim to recognition and reward. The reference to *human life* and its *needs* means nothing unless this, that there is a measurable service which the church is under obligation to render. If you tell the pastor how many needs you have, he can show you as many manifestations of church interest. If a pastor cannot enumerate more than five human needs, the scope of his ministry is neither broad nor deep. Whether he can name more than five needs, whether the scope is broad and deep, whether the church is doing its part, are fit subjects for inquiry, count, comparison, summary, *i. e.*, for religious bookkeeping.

What is the unit of inquiry? That depends upon what the church or the worker is trying to do. Any effort for which no unit of inquiry can be found will not be of serious consequence. There are so many units in sight to occupy the attention of church bookkeepers for some time to come, that they need not worry about others of vague outline. If one has difficulty in selecting the units that should be counted first, let him make a list of the things that worry him, or seem to worry his co-workers and parishioners. If he does not then discover a way to test his work so as to show whether he is making satisfactory progress in carrying his burden, a business doctor may be profitably consulted. If he is not worrying at all and

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has no unanswered questions in his mind, that is a sure sign that his church needs the business doctor. So long as the workers' questions are few it may be safe to rely upon memory, a notched stick, matches or rough note book for his counts and comparisons. But just as soon as the number of human needs attended to or even discussed grows beyond such simple devices, just as soon as they vary in kind and in degree, then classification becomes quite as necessary as in a department store and the grab-bag method causes confusion, delay and wasted effort. Numerous ledger headings are necessary for church activities and for human needs. It becomes necessary to count and record so far as possible the activities of the church and to compare the results of these activities with the needs of the parish.

Most churches have reports from a treasurer. They learn whether the money that was paid in has been paid out and how much remains. So far no violence has been done to religious spirit. Often churches ask what was raised from the general collections, how much from special services, how much from strawberry festivals and how much from pledges. This seems perfectly compatible with heart interest. The ladies who are paying off the church debt or supporting a missionary in China or buying a bell or running the kindergarten and dispensary will be pardoned for wanting to know how little remains still to be done. Go where you will among church workers and you will find

Agreeable and Disagreeable Statistics 213

only applause for figures that prove growing bigness, success, progress. Such figures are not called statistics, but good news. Statistics begin when figures are used to show things that we happen not to be interested in just yet or the littleness of effort in directions where there is big need.

If it is not "statistical" to set this year's attendance side by side with last year's attendance, it is not "statistical" to subtract last year's total from this year's total and to compute the percentage of gain. If it is not unspiritual to discover gain, it is not unspiritual to disclose loss. If justifiable to find the difference and the percentage, it is justifiable to learn the cause of the difference. Why is irreligion growing (if one so believes), why do young people neglect church duties, and why do young men stay away from sermons? In answering these questions, it is permissible to use units and to count just as when making up the total attendance. The only question is,—Do we want to know and to measure the cause of decreasing interest?

Again, if it is compatible with religious sincerity and fervour to count last year's contributions, what possible objection can there be to counting the amounts pledged but not paid and the amounts that might reasonably have been expected from our parish? What are our resources? Who has not been doing his share? Whose fault is it that the possible giver is not the cheerful giver? The unwillingness to ask aloud such questions as these comes probably from the false inter-

pretation of the injunction, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." We have reason to believe that throughout his life Christ let his right hand know what his other hand was doing, for his acts were performed in public with distinct reference to influencing that public. After the left hand has done a good thing it must not go out and boastfully tell its fellow what it has done. It must have a higher reason than self-advertising. It should give its share openly. The supershare may reasonably be kept secret if one wishes. Christian progress has been hindered by the delicate consideration that has enabled so many to pose in their communities as Christian workers when they give neither of themselves nor of their means to advance their church. The rich young man was not told to make anonymous gifts to charity and religion. The church-member who does not openly support his church needs a special ledger heading just as much as the insurance company that gives secretly to campaign funds.

The relation of the church as a whole to the community it serves, needs as careful bookkeeping as the relation of the treasurer or the individual giver or spender to the church body. Are we as a parish doing our share to aid our neighbourhood? To what extent are we responsible for unsatisfactory conditions of streets, schools, gaols? Have we done our part to reduce the death rate? Whose fault is it that the parishioners are not reminded that their duties as citizens are as broad

as their privileges? Do we get as much for our effort by running our own relief bureau, dispensary, employment agency, woodyard, kindergarten, as we could get by spending this effort through general agencies working for the whole city? Are citizens injured when permitted to shift to the church their responsibility for objective goodness in government, schools, hospitals, milk inspection? Wherever such questions are asked and answered church deficit ceases to mean the difference in money between receipts and disbursements, but the *difference in results between the moral influence the church might have exerted and the influence actually exerted.*

Such tests are being applied constantly in spots. Only the statistical method can give the weak pastor and weak parish the reminders of their weakness, just as ritual insures seasonableness and enables the unimaginative pastor to preach from the right text at the right time. No one familiar with the history of missions can question the wisdom of applying efficiency tests to missionaries. If a medical missionary goes out, he is expected to know arsenic from arnica and fibula from tibula. We no longer send men and women with repelling personality to redeem anybody. We give them office work under supervision while they try to change their personality. The attempts of recent years to fit creed to belief are part of the general movement to secure an efficiency test. Freedom of discussion is encouraged because there is a general conviction

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that a nearer approach to truth is thus made possible. Eventually we shall apply the efficiency test everywhere as we now apply it to the few departments we have already studied. The stumbling can be minimised by adopting at once efficiency standards.

What some parishes and pastors desire to know about themselves and their efficiency and how they go to work to answer their questions, is shown by the year book of one church that spends over \$60,000 annually. The table of contents, alphabetically arranged, tells on what page to look for the expenses of different departments—mission, kitchen garden, men's clubs. It also calls attention to other matters one is apt not to associate with parish work,—form of bequest, penny provident fund, sewing school. The financial summary gives for 27 different activities, (1) the balance brought forward from the previous year, (2) the receipts for the year, (3) total to be accounted for, (4) the total expended for each purpose and (5) the balance available for the use of each activity. In parenthesis, at the head of the summary, is the statement that for each activity a separate detailed account is given. Under Poor Fund, for example, are the following headings:

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RECEIPTS

DISBURSEMENTS

Balance at Beginning of Year.

Communion Alms.

Donations, etc.

Sale of Garments, etc.

Poor Box.

Board and Lodgings.

Boots and Shoes.

Burials.

Cash.

Clothing.

Drugs and Medicines.

Groceries, Coal and Rent.

Loans.

Medical Attendance.

Nurse Hire.

Pensions.

Transportation.

Balance at end of year.

The rector's report emphasises the following characteristics of the year's work:

1. Professional standards attained.
2. Suitable methods studied.
3. Distinguished results achieved.
4. Practical methods scientifically determined.

Throughout the editorial and financial pages is the atmosphere of unqualified belief in efficiency tests. There are indications, however, that hitherto they have cared more for the idea than for the proof of efficiency, more for lectures on scientific method than for definite evidence of its application. Perhaps the lack of such evidence in the report means merely a failure to indicate to trustees and parishioners the new knowledge as well as the new spirit. But there is some significance in the fact that the index does not tell on what

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page to look for work done. For example, it is impossible to learn how many benefited from the poor fund whose expense table is so scientifically outlined. Neither in summary nor in detail are given the distinguished results obtained in various departments. Nowhere is work done compared with money spent, or work done this year and money spent this year compared with work done and money spent in previous years. Although there is a tone of confidence that goes with growth and success, there is nothing in the report to show whether the parish is going backward or forward. A volunteer wishing to give his services cannot learn whether and where they are needed, unless he wants to teach mission Sunday-school. If a friend wished to give \$250,000 to meet the chief needs of the parish, this report would not help him, because apparently everything was done that was attempted.

Turning the pages of the year book raises the following questions, which it would seem of advantage to have answered in such a document:

How old is this church?

Who and how many are its supporters?

How many young men in this church did the assistant "get hold of and interest in its opportunities and in its work"; how many young men in the church did he fail to interest?

When the second assistant says he obtained work for a number of persons and admission to hospitals for several, how many does he mean?

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If 1/3 of the congregation does not contribute a cent for the church or its work, what systematic effort has been made to secure their systematic financial aid?

How many visits did the trained nurse make; how many families "made the influence of the nurse far reaching"; how many underfed children are nourished; how many found working under age; how many tenement houses reported; how many children put under the protection of suitable societies; what is the evidence of unusual activity; upon how many individuals were 1,419 calls made; how much has the work grown?

How many days was the nursery open; if the average attendance was 35 and the maximum 54, has the difference in aggregate attendance, 5,700, been explained; if the average cost per child is \$100, why is an annuity of \$50 permitted to endow a bed; how many children were sent to the country and how many taken on day excursions; who are subscribers; how many give to the nursery?

Is it true, as appears, that the 24 industrious poor women who earned but 50 cents a week each worked 21 weeks each, or does the report mean that during 21 weeks 24 different women worked? Who made up the difference between what these women earned and what they needed?

Just how was \$900 spent on fresh air work when the statement indicates that expense was borne by co-operating agencies?

If no effort was made to increase the attendance at Sunday-school because teachers were already taxed to the utmost, what effort was made to increase the number of teachers?

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Among other steps that, if taken by a church, would throw light both upon the problems confronting the church and upon its efficiency are suggested the following:

Blanks of each department should be made out by a central committee with reference not only to the work of that department, but to the work of the entire church. Provision should be made for either weekly or monthly reports, both of work done and of money spent, so that throughout the year those responsible will know exactly what is being done and what remains undone.

Summaries should be comparative, January, 1907, compared with January, 1906, and the totals for the period ending January 1st, 1907, with the totals for the period ending January 1st, 1906.

If comparative tables lead to misrepresentation, people may be taught to read tables aright if discrepancies are explained by those who make up the tables. The church of all agencies should not evade issues by failing to teach.

Work done and money spent should be classified when done and when spent so as to make a summary possible at a glance.

Responsible officials should be shown in how far they have succeeded and in how far they have failed.

Neighbourhood Needs should be studied and recorded

Are the streets clean? Are milk shops properly inspected? Do weights and scales defraud the poor of the parish? Are demoralising influences unchecked or unattacked? Do the institutional activities of the church attract the better class of the poor or do they antagonise and drive them

Religion Abhors a Sterile Life 221

away, as has recently been maintained by a prominent Boston divine? By attempting to bring all civic activities under the church roof does the church inhibit responsibility of citizens to do their share to insure more efficient government? Have sermons and services been adapted in kind and time to the neighbourhood's changing needs?

We have so misread the prophets as to forget that they were chosen not to feel but to do; not to prophesy but to lead; they were able to lead not so much because they saw the future but because they knew the present and the past. They rarely saw anything; they were shown. The Lord's method of showing the future is and always has been to demand that the present and the past be candidly analysed. Nature and religion and truth abhor a sterile life. Whether or not the life of the religious worker is an arid prairie or a dune without heather, may be determined by efficiency tests.

XI

Efficiency in Government

IN all the heroic talk of the past few years about PUBLICITY and REFORM, not one great leader of public opinion has seemed to realise that publicity and reform have their technique as well as business and law. Publicity has come to suggest not struggle for efficiency but scandal mongering; the Knights of the Round Table go to official and corporation corruption in quest of the Holy Grail. Of what avail are panegyrics on publicity at reform conferences if the orator's account of his own stewardship fails to make it possible and necessary for the taxpayer to understand work done and work left undone, obstacles removed and obstacles remaining, cost of service rendered and cost of service contemplated in the office of prosecuting attorney, governor, secretary of the navy or president?

There is an unmistakable tendency to define publicity as the right of a popular idol to find out *pro bono publico* whatever he wants to know about other men's affairs, plus the further right to give that knowledge to the public in the idol's own time and with dropper, scoop or cloudburst, as the idol wills. The most brilliant exponents of publicity as a remedy for corrup-

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tion have all drawn the line just a bit this side of the campaign contributions that last elected them. The certified public accountants of New York State demand an impartial outside audit of insurance books; they have not demanded a system of insurance accounting that will not only make dishonesty of officials unsafe, but will make intelligence possible and easy on the part of policyholders. Nor have they demanded that influential certified public accountants stop opposing every effort to secure simplified accounting of the city and state business for whose efficiency they are responsible. Publicity as a threat we are offered, but not publicity as a searchlight to make the threat unnecessary.

Before me are several recent addresses and interviews by the three self-convicted, generally admitted "goodest" men in American politics. Ten thousand words against bosses, corruption, favouritism, government by the few for the many. Ten thousand words for good citizenship, integrity and common sense. Reams and reams about the bones and joints, ulcers and excrescent growths of government, its potential beauty and its mission. Not one mention of efficiency, the means and tests of efficiency or any other function of government hygiene but good motive.¹ Not one word

¹The President's Annual Message to Congress for 1906 contains about 21,000 words. Efficiency appears thirteen times, applied to six subjects: *Army and Navy*, 8; *Panama project*, 1; *Red Cross in Japan*, 1; *Japanese Army*, 1; *the American Workman*, 1; *Law*, 1. Inefficiency is used once to characterise con-

to show how the individual boy, the future citizen that inspires so much worry and eloquence, can find his share in government rights and responsibilities, not one syllable against blindness, ignorance, helplessness, sycophancy, inefficiency when under the favourite's own banner. Nothing to enable the follower to ask a question regarding government, but,—“Where is our peerless leader?”

Naturally official reports have not shown a more intimate knowledge of the ingredients of effective publicity than have those who exploit the name. For example, our presidents have never demanded that the reports of their appointees show whether or not departmental disbursements brought returns commensurate with purchasing power. They have not asked that next year's budget be based upon a clear classified analysis of work done last year and of next year's probable needs. One or two have formed commissions to examine accounting methods, but none has supported the recommendations of these commissions by executive order, by press interview or by appeal for public support. The efficiency of department heads is measured not by countable results in their own departments, but rather by extra-departmental service rendered their party or the nation. So novel are efficiency tests that

duct of the Spanish War; efficiently is applied twice, once to control of polygamy and once to carrying international burdens; efficient is used six times, but in each instance to characterise an ideal rather than work done.

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their application to one fraction of a department's business is telegraphed broadcast as news. The executive capacity and presidential qualifications of the cabinet officer responsible for the innovations entitle him to prompt and frequent promotion from one cabinet post to another before the permanence of his reforms is assured. The Keep Commission can tell the President and Congress how to save enough money now wasted every year by the United States to exterminate tuberculosis and several other scourges. But every attempt to install thoroughgoing efficiency is side-tracked or blocked by influential place-holders and place-fillers. What! continue the methods that in this one office make 200 employees unnecessary! Electricity shall not light government business so long as candlemakers need outlet for their product.

We Americans pay enough for gathering and publishing official reports to get facts that would not only interest and instruct, but would disclose the efficiency or inefficiency of departments and department heads. Unfortunately executive documents are still regarded as part of the victor's spoils, to be so edited as to heap up the beaten party's humiliation and to conceal or repair all weak points in the winner's armour. Not only are they so written as to radiate party credit, but the time of publication, like the time of announcing cabinet appointments, is itself fitted to party need. Whether this is accident or design is immaterial; the point is that department statistics are discounted and

discredited by editorial writers who share—and foster—the universal belief “that the administration (of the opposing party) is seeking prestige by disparaging comparisons.”

If we have little interest and less confidence in government statistics, the reason is in ourselves and the scarcity of questions in our minds. Have you ever made a list of the things you care to know about your state, county or city? Are you conscious of wanting to know more of the national government than the names of the president, three or four of his cabinet, leading senators and congressmen? Have you felt the slightest responsibility for the preventable misery, ignorance or sickness among the poor in the nation's capital city? If not, then it is hardly fair to censure political leaders, census takers and officials for being equally indifferent to what lies below the surface.

Generally speaking, government statistics have been required to answer but three questions,—How big are we; how much bigger are we than when we counted last; in what direction are we growing fastest? About the only use we have made of this knowledge except for fireworks and buncombe, is to fix or gerrymander representation in Congress or local assemblies. To be sure questions regarding various kinds of bigness have been inserted in census schedules until now it requires scores of volumes to contain facts gathered. The value of the returns has not been until lately proportionate to amounts expended, partly because guesses were ac-

cepted at their face value, and partly because the questions asked were designed to serve purposes of history and declamation rather than statecraft. Many questions were inserted that some one thought some one else ought to want to know about his own business; too seldom did men of affairs seek information of practical value. Thus it came that captains of industry regarded the census of manufacturers as hostile and inquisitorial, whereas it was intended to help industry. Had the states along the Mississippi asked what yellow fever was needlessly costing them in lives and money, the National Board of Health (established 1879) could not have been starved to death (1885) for lack of funds. Not having taken desire to know to early temporary censuses, we were helped little by their returns. In proportion as we propound questions of importance to our new permanent bureau and insist upon answers will its work benefit us.

How desire to know will modify method and furnish units of inquiry has been shown by recent census bulletins giving statistics of cities. Each volume is a liberal education in the statistical method applied to city government. The officer who wrote the schedules had a genuine interest in city problems. There were scores of things he wanted to know. He conferred with department heads, comptrollers, auditors, bankers, accountants, and asked them to send him lists of questions they would like answered for their own or other cities. To insure a language intelligible to all, he then

sent the composite list to colleagues in every part of the country, asking them to criticise both the form of the questions and the terms used. For months experts desiring to know the same things discussed the units of inquiry to be used in questions and the names by which these things should be called,—when *outlay* should be used instead of *payment* or *expense*, and when *income* instead of *receipt*, etc. The result of the answers to the questions agreed upon is a vastly improved tabular comparison of American cities as to nearly 500 distinct administrative items. Its few defects are due to want of desire on the part of census authorities and of city taxpayers to answer certain important questions that will some day be asked as a matter of course. The reports have already justified many times over all expense incurred in their preparation. For example, Bulletin 50 has led those who worry over the difficulty of marketing New York City's bonds to emphasise the fact that the comparison with other cities proves New York to be wasteful of its credit as well as of its taxes. Lest the benefits of this lesson be monopolised by bankers and brokers, one newspaper—that caters to bankers and brokers—warns the masses that “the power wasted comes from the pockets of the poor rather than the rich, for the latter know how to avoid their taxes.” To cause the so-called poor to desire knowledge as to the fact and cause of wasted taxes and of misuse of city money for party or personal purposes, and to arouse some curios-



L. G. POWERS
Organizer, U. S. Census Inquiry into Statistics of Cities.



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ity as to the means adopted by the rich to avoid their taxes, are indeed important steps toward efficient government.

Once convinced that there is a way of finding out whatever we want to know about our nation, our state, our county or our city, we shall probably be surprised at our interest in needs now unknown to us. To-day we choke questions like noxious weeds because we know from experience that "it is impossible to get information unless the seeker himself turns bookkeeper." The present comptroller of Greater New York was dismayed when he found himself in the same darkness as an outsider, and in the leading strings of his subordinates. He grew tired of sending for a bureau head, clerk or office boy every time he wanted to answer a question, and demanded an accounting of the city's business not too mixed up for the comptroller himself to understand. "Because they never have done it they tell me they cannot do it; because they never have done it they are going to begin to do it now. The existing method of keeping the city's accounts serves only to conceal the facts; a method will be found to present the facts so that they will be intelligible to everybody who can read, if I don't do anything else during my term of office."

Public accounting that serves only to conceal facts is a direct descendant of the goodness fallacy. Having satisfied our curiosity as to the goodness or badness of public officials, we have desired to know little

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beyond the ken of an adding machine. We have asked one question,—Has any money been stolen? Whether or not we have gotten our money's worth has not yet concerned us, or at least we have not as yet grasped the truth that records may be made to tell us. With ostrich simplicity we have imagined ourselves protected against exploitation because a piece of paper called a voucher is filed away somewhere under a pyramid of other vouchers to account for every decrease in the city's funds. Having named this man comptroller and that one auditor or commissioner of accounts, we have closed our eyes and imagined our finances controlled and audited. An impressive illustration of our naiveté is the recent appeal of certain good citizens for an itinerant auditor of a certain city department whose original accounts notoriously fail to give any idea of the economy or extravagance with which funds are expended. We have appointed boards of estimate and apportionment in the evident confidence that a borough president sitting in that board could and would guess more accurately and more altruistically as to the millions needed by the city than when in his office, surrounded by his "workers." We have seen nothing astonishing in the fact that the street-cleaning department made no report for four years; that a borough president never closed his books and published no more enlightening account of his stewardship than "repairs have been made and the usual supplies bought as necessary." City hospitals enter sup-

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ply purchases in a dozen different books, and this without disclosing what is bought or where it is used. The comptroller's report conceals facts by accumulating volumes of details, including "2,500 individual accounts, of which no one knows whether they represent assets or liabilities." In a recent interview the comptroller announced that for eight years certain subordinates had "pulled the wool over the eyes of his two predecessors and that for one year they had 'doped me.' " The occasion was his discovery that "in the bureau of assessments and arrears, city employees had been doing work for private title insurance companies of the promptest and most efficient character so that the information of the companies is entirely accurate to date, while the books of the city kept to furnish this information to the city are in some cases eight years behindhand. He has reason to suppose that like betrayal of official trust exists in other bureaus."

An educational budget of \$25,000,000 is voted without school or fiscal authorities knowing what expenses were incurred the preceding year, the number of pupils that benefited or the work contemplated for next year. There is a difference of \$50,000,000 between the mayor's guess and the comptroller's guess as to the city's borrowing power not yet used. Department heads ask for 25% to 100% more than they need; estimates for unpopular purposes are shrunk; water is put in the requests for purposes favoured by the fiscal board, and then later in the year the surplus in popular



is transferred to unpopular without due knowledge or consideration. Although this happens year after year, and although reports might be made to show the fact, fiscal authorities go on voting without knowledge as to what actually became of moneys voted last year. Supplementary appropriations, like transfers, do not enter into budget making. Imaginative assistants guess what the departments need; the board of estimate and apportionment guesses what they can do without. Reports are published too late to be read, *sans* units of inquiry, *sans* subtraction, *sans* percentages or classification. No one learns anything from them. No one would pretend to base method or policy upon them.

Thanks to the agitation of a volunteer body the mayor is alarmed and turns for facts, not to city records, but to another commission. Verily, New York has "one of the most highly technical (and disserviceable) systems of bookkeeping in the world." The condition in large cities differs from that of small cities in degree rather than in kind.

Accounting systems designed solely or chiefly to protect the taxpayer against dishonesty have failed. Out and out thieving is fast becoming obsolete as a method of gaining riches or power. Yet our cumbersome cheques and countercheques grew naturally. Fifty years ago there were many thousands of treasurers of private and public bodies like one Illinois county treasurer whose books failed to show whether state taxes

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had been paid to the county during his term. When asked regarding the matter, he stated to his successor, —“I will have to look at my book; if it is down in black ink the county got it, if it is in red ink the county did not get it.” The obvious preventive was a law requiring that every single payment and receipt be carefully entered chronologically, as for example:

January 1st, James Smith.....	\$34.23
March 3d, Henry Wilson.....	79.18
August 11th, Jans Hanson.....	197.00
Total for the year (1,000 payments) .	\$59,792.14

In the New Jersey county that furnishes this illustration, it was possible for years for the superintendent of one institution to overstate by from 30 to 90 at a time the number of inmates boarded at county expense. In New York City the same method does not make it impossible to hire ten men to do one man's work; to keep a heavy payroll for months before bath houses are opened and for months after floating baths are closed; or by tedious, well-feed condemnation proceedings to pay \$140,000 for a site offered the city in advance of the proceedings for \$80,000.

When columns of minutiae unclassified, unsummarised, were seen to give no idea whether or not the public officer paid twice as much for a given commodity this year as he paid last year, or more than he needed to pay, another device for securing honesty was adopted. Laws were passed prohibiting purchases of more than \$1,000 at a time without public bidding. Blissfully

content the taxpayer has failed to discover that it is very easy for an indulgent department head to accommodate his friends by spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in individual purchases of less than \$1,000; it does not require a Napoleon of finance to draw the legal line just within \$1,000. The fact that all such transactions are mentioned in the New York's *City Record* and are filed in the comptroller's archives does no violence to their privacy. The sphinx itself cannot surpass in unintelligibility and secrecy the unclassified, disordered publicity of the *City Record*. The weakness of the "total recall" principle of reporting city experience is summarised by a New York daily paper,— "The law is blamed for a form of report which tells much that is of no present consequence and which omits almost everything that is important in forming an estimate of the value of New York City bonds. The system of the comptroller's report is a sequel of the Tweed Ring disclosures when it was thought that minute details should be reported to prevent a repetition of graft. Investors (in city bonds) care nothing for such minutiae. *It is not what is known that causes vague alarm, but what is unknown.* Serious investors—savings banks, insurance companies, estate trustees—want assets, or at least resources, shown, and the city's reports do not show them. Let the comptroller give investors such a statement as many great enterprises of great integrity give to their proprietors and there need be no anxiety about New York's credit."

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What is unknown about American government bears about the same relation to what is known as a list of personal property owners who swear off taxes to those willing to pay their share. The majority of taxpayers are convinced that they pay too much and that they were better off when the rate was \$1.67 than when \$1.85. Thanks to traditional miseducation of the public by public reports, it is possible in the year 1906 for one of the ablest editorial writers of the New York press to tell the readers of a half million papers,—“If there were no taxes everybody would be better off.” If we wanted to know what our taxes paid for—in schooling, health, comfort, in protection against injustice, infection, fire, crime, monopoly, offensive odours and sights, in opportunity for recreation and cleanliness—we would frequently find out that the \$1.85 year was full of prime bargains and that the cheaper year brought mainly gold bricks. If instead of worrying about the goodness of city officials, good mothers would test government efficiency, they might find hundreds of ways to improve their children’s environment. Facts would leave no doubt that to give a health department too little money is to buy anxiety and doctor’s bills because of infected milk or water; that to divert money from police protection to police patronage is to invite fear and temptation and noisomeness to one’s home and to breed conditions that children must read about, hear about, see and respond to; to skimp on schools, parks, and street cleaning is to decrease progressively the pur-

chasing power of every dollar of taxes paid. If a city's credit is not good its taxpayers can find it out, can learn the cause and compute their share of the penalty. If the goodness or badness of an officer is any concern of ours, we can point to definite results in our own home, our own business, our enjoyments and discomforts when outside our home or business. If unable to relate effect to cause, we have not asked enough questions. Perhaps our content with the unknown will last until *our* dividends are cut, until typhoid takes away *our* son, until *our* father is sandbagged in broad daylight, or until *our* skirts are ruined on neglected streets,—until we see that *we* need a business doctor.

For every man or group of men desiring to know the noteworthy things of a city, a state or of the United States, audience is insured by the existence of the permanent census bureau at Washington (established in 1901). For example, correctional and charitable institutions (the law does not yet include non-institutional agencies) have been notified that however small and however far remote, they are objects of interest to 80,000,000 people speaking through the census bureau. One of the best-known and best-qualified students of the country is in charge. He himself desires to know a great number of things about the forces that increase poverty and crime; is acquainted with hundreds of others who desire to know; possesses the technique of statistical inquiry on a large scale; and may be counted upon to make these reports so valuable

Value of Permanent Census Bureau 237

that the country will want to know more about relief societies, dispensaries, hospitals, home-finding agencies for dependent children, etc. Each census bulletin that reminds citizens of things they once wanted to know or ought to want to know, will make it easier for each succeeding volume to contain valuable information and for state and municipal census bureaus to be established and properly manned. As the scope of inquiry widens, public officers and the chiefs of industry will come themselves to feel increasing curiosity about their work and environment, as did a London resident who once replied to an inquiry,—“I have been asked so often these twenty years whose statue that was that I have half a mind to stop some day and find out.” But grateful as we are for a permanent central bureau, proving the value of the statistical test of the nation’s economic needs and economic growth, it is important to apply the efficiency test to national administration and to the use made by city and state officers of their powers and opportunities.

What ought to be known about government depends upon what government is expected to do. What may be known depends upon what government does. What government does may be discovered only if what is done is properly recorded when it is done. Intelligence regarding efficiency or inefficiency depends upon ability to select proper units of inquiry, to count or weigh accurately, to learn the significance of comparison by use of subtraction, percentages, summaries, and

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by skill in classifying where units counted are of different kinds. With propriety these processes when testing efficiency in government are called the statistical method, because they seek the noteworthy things of the state. In setting up certain standards of inquiry, record and interpretation, the following chapter will confine itself to those noteworthy facts that may be properly included in the term *municipal statistics*.



XII

Municipal Bureau of Statistics

THE purpose of a report to the public is to show what officials think the public ought to be told, or what the public insists upon knowing, about their efficiency and that of the departments they supervise. The financial report made by the city comptroller shows what that officer believes he is under obligation to tell, or what he wants the community to know, about his efficiency in controlling their finances. The mayor's report tells what he considers it necessary for the city to know regarding its last year's expenses, its future needs and his plans for meeting them.

The purpose of records, on the other hand, is to tell the mayor, comptroller, department and division head what it is thought necessary for themselves to know if they are to reach that degree of efficiency which for them is considered the minimum. Conversely such facts as are not matter of record represent knowledge that the responsible officers are not conscious of needing in order to be as efficient as is demanded by their own standard or by the community's standard for them. When reports fail to compare service rendered with cost of that service, officers advertise that they do not consider their community entitled to know what its

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taxes buy. When records fail to relate service and cost of service, officers advertise that they do not themselves care to know whether their administration is economical or wasteful, efficient or inefficient.

If efficiency is to be substituted for goodness as a test of government, every department will come to have,—
(1) A system of records that tell the truth as to each day's experiment ; (2) A clearing house, or access to a clearing house, for these records that will enable the head of each department to measure his own efficiency as well as that of his subordinates. Thus the head of the school board will have his own complete statistical bureau. This means that every week, every month, every quarter, every year or on demand, summarised statements can be prepared by the school board or president or superintendent, whoever is recognised as head, measuring the efficiency of every school, of the schools as a whole and of every person connected with the system, including the directors themselves. The same would be true of other departments.

But there are some officers responsible for more than one department, *e. g.*, alderman, mayor, auditor, or in states, governor, secretary of state, legislator. Legislator and alderman cannot be sure that they are voting the proper amount of money for different purposes unless they have looked over a classified statistical summary, showing the relative needs of different departments and their relative efficiency. Likewise the mayor, governor or president can be sure that he is

not voting to misappropriate funds only after he has examined a statistical summary of work done and work contemplated by different departments. One way to put responsible officials in possession of information necessary to intelligent action would be to have an independent statistical bureau organised for mayor, auditor, board of estimate and board of aldermen. Such duplication would be very much better and very much cheaper than to have no bureau, but in practice there is no reason why the board of education and the superintendent of schools should both keep all school facts necessary to efficient instruction and to efficient management. One clearing house would bring together educational facts and administrative facts, cost facts and service facts, condensing in one report for managers and teachers the experience of the schools. Likewise there is no reason why the mayor, board of estimate, aldermen and comptroller should not use transcripts from the same summary compiled in one central bureau. At just what point the volume of city business requires subsidiary clearing houses in addition to a central clearing house is a practical question easily determined by a business doctor.

Unless a central bureau brings together the statistics of all departments, those who distribute appropriations run the risk of being prejudiced by aggressive or ingratiating department heads; at least they run the risk of making false judgments as to the imperative needs of different departments. It is because of this

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failure to look at all departments with one standard that the horizontal cut in appropriation estimates is made, the assumption being that all estimates contain about the same percentage of water. Moreover, unless a central bureau sets side by side for each department the service rendered last year and its cost, the service contemplated next year and its estimated cost, the taxpayer is unable to exercise intelligent judgment at the one time during the year when he can make his wishes effective, i. e., when the budget is being made up. As a taxpayer, it is his only chance to protest against bad investment or injustice, to demand new constructive and preventive work, to express a choice for various investments offered and to decide what particular investments he shall make. It is the only occasion when the goodness or badness of the taxpayer's representative is condensed into one statement.

Under the present system of preparing budgets the taxpayer's opinion, if by chance he happens to have one, is ineffective. I am writing in the midst of a state campaign, 1906. There is much talk of sincerity and insincerity, of political and financial corporations, of yellow and grey journalism, and of the danger of inoculating with badness the established order of things. In the meantime home rule, which is so jealously guarded in the winter time, when it is too late, is deciding for New York City how next year to divide \$130,000,000 among various departments. This budget is four times that of the state of New

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York and affects the welfare of mothers and children, business men and taxpayers in New York City far more intimately than do state expenditures. Yet with the exception of a handful of citizens, practically no interest is taken and no intelligence shown with regard to the administrative results to be purchased by that budget. If other citizens should to-day decide to express an intelligent interest in next year's budget, they would fail, for they would have begun too late.

The fiscal authorities themselves are quite as helpless as the taxpayer, even though they may be giving more attention to budget details and budget politics. Not having facts, that is, not having purposes that would justify an increase in the tax rate, the mayor, the comptroller, the president of the board of aldermen and the five borough presidents are trying by legerdemain, remonstrance and equivocation to come out of the fray with a maximum of promises kept and a minimum of friends disappointed, while still within last year's tax rate. The budget itself will make a volume of about 130 pages quarto. No attempt is made to show what kind of work was done last year or what work can be done next year if funds requested are voted. If the board of estimate should to-day resolve to acquiesce in the request of the board of aldermen for a budget explaining clearly the purpose for which money is asked, it would be unable to prepare such budget this year, for it would also have begun too late.



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An object lesson in making a budget to fit work planned was presented to the board of estimate on Taxpayers' Day, October, 1906, by the Bureau of City Betterment.¹ Illustrations were chosen from the health department because no one dares openly excuse health inefficiency. Although that department works through forty distinct divisions, representing forty distinct fields or purposes, its salaries had previously been given under eleven general grab-bag headings. Naturally the practice had been followed of robbing Peter to pay Paul by taking from this grab-bag according to the insistence of any one of forty activities. When a man was needed for No. 37, he was transferred or borrowed from No. 11 or No. 23, and milk inspection crippled to serve a temporary need in fighting the smoke nuisance, in answering complaints against garbage wagons or in transferring patients to a hospital. Of ninety-eight physicians on the payroll as school inspectors in Manhattan, only sixty-one were used for that purpose last year. These facts were not known to the heads of the board of estimate and apportionment or to the four representatives of the finance department, who had spent two months in preparing an expert opinion on the health board estimates. The only way to have found them out was to do as the private bureau did, disregard the names by which health employees were called and re-distribute their salaries according to the work done last year.

¹See page 270.

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To do this cost less than one-half what the city spent in making a futile investigation to secure a worthless opinion. Therefore, in deciding how much was to be given for salaries, the responsible officials saw only so many men to be paid and so many individual salaries to be increased. Health officers themselves admitted that the budget prepared by them gave an erroneous impression of what work the board of health would in all probability do with the money voted.

When the board of estimate was asked to picture to itself clearly the kind of work and the quantity of each kind of work that it wished the board of health to do, the demand seemed so reasonable that several members asked why they had not thought of that themselves, and the epigram-making comptroller said,—“We have been blooming kids long enough.” They consented, therefore, before passing this particular budget to ask themselves,—What various forms of protection against disease and nuisance does the city want to buy next year? A business man insures in separate policies against fire, cyclone, theft, earthquake, accident or sickness; should the city take out separate policies against diphtheria, unclean milk, waste of school child’s energy, tuberculosis? Shall we deal rigidly with the first outbreak of typhoid or shall we keep the cases down to five hundred? Shall we save 350 of 3,000 babies doomed to die from unclean milk if neglected, or shall we save 2,000; shall we see that every quart of milk is clean or one quart in 10,000? Shall



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we find the physical defects that encourage contagion in three grades of forty schools or in every grade of five hundred schools? Shall we provide money enough to care for advanced cases of tuberculosis, or shall we check its spread in the tenement and gradually make it as rare as typhoid? Shall we insure a \$100,000 building for its entire value or for one-tenth or one-thirtieth? If we want insurance, what kinds and how much shall we buy? If we want protection, what kinds and how much shall we buy? If we want healthful conditions, in how many parts of the city are we willing to pay for them?

For 1906 the New York board of health was voted \$500,000 in revenue bonds to meet what were called emergencies, which emergencies, however, were created when the budget was voted under eleven meaningless headings. A health budget classified according to kinds of protection needed and to places where protection is needed, will enable the fiscal authorities to provide for all needs of next year so far as last year's experience throws light on next year's needs. One objection is immediately urged when we ask for a health budget adequate to health needs, *i. e.*, important as is health, other departments are also important; the work of boroughs, schools, parks, street cleaning—all departments—should progress simultaneously. But the present system of determining whether or not departments are progressing simultaneously necessitates unequal progress. It is assumed that if the health

Disclosing What Taxes Buy 247

board gets an increase of 11% and the schools an increase of 11%, then, of course, there should be an increase of 11% in the appropriation of each borough president, each commissioner of parks, etc. For one commissioner to ask for a larger percentage increase than his colleagues receive would show selfishness and lack of willingness to do team work. The embarrassing position in which this horizontal cut principle places the fiscal board would disappear if a central bureau presented to the board of estimate, to the taxpayer and to the press a statement for all departments, showing not only what was spent last year, how it was spent and what beneficial results were obtained, but showing also what was left undone last year that the taxpayer wanted done. After all, it is for the taxpayer to decide whether he prefers to postpone the purchase of a park for one year, two or five, rather than neglect milk inspection. He ought to have a chance to decide between a speedway in Central Park and a playground for Little Italy; between "plaster embellishments" and real marble for the Hall of Records; between the purchase of athletic grounds for nines or elevens and medical examination that will qualify the 9,000 and 11,000 to take part in the simple athletics of playground and street; between increase in salaries for certain bureau heads and protection against pneumonia.

If a central bureau presented clearly to the taxpayer the results obtainable by each expenditure proposed,

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the absurd reverence for any particular tax rate would disappear. Many landlords, it is true, still limit repairs to a maximum percentage of each year's income. The most intelligent landlords, however, have learned that because "a stitch in time saves nine" it is very much better to spend one-fifth of one year's rent all at once for repairs that will last five years, than to spend 10% of each year's income in futile tinkering. Municipal statistics, properly marshalled, would enable and compel the taxpayer to picture to himself the benefits offered by two, three or five different tax rates proposed, thus placing him in position to decide intelligently whether or not to spend \$5 this year as a means of saving \$25 next year or the year after. Such statistics would lead the taxpayer gradually to see that a high tax rate, plus satisfaction, is infinitely better for him than a low tax rate plus dissatisfaction. Little by little taxpayers would learn from experience that the present blind method of apportioning taxes not only piles up a debt on which they pay compound interest on blunders as well as on service, but with each succeeding year reduces the purchasing power of every dollar of taxes and of every dollar of income.

The nearest approach to a bureau of municipal statistics that we have in this country is the Statistics Department of Boston. From four to eleven bulletins are issued yearly giving statistical summaries indicated by its Table of Contents submitted herewith.¹

¹Volume VIII—January, February and March, 1906.

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APPENDIX

Statistical Showing of Reports, for 1904, of Incorporated Charitable Institutions in Boston, including a Comparison with those of Massachusetts outside of Boston.

It has exerted an important influence not only in its own city but upon methods of talking about government throughout the country. Valuable special reports have been published from time to time about tax rate, school census, receipts of milk, ward population, etc. "Every time politicians have attempted to rescind the ordinance that established the department, a surprising degree of public interest has been shown in opposing such endeavor. The usefulness of the department in conducting special investigations or secur-

ing particular information wished by members of the city government has increased and is increasing." It has been eulogised by so many eminent statistical authorities (and by the makers of the Model Municipal Program) that one hesitates to question either the content of its reports, its purposes or the principles on which it is organised. But hazardous as it may seem, after reading its publications, visiting its office, questioning Boston officials and civic leaders, I am satisfied that this particular form of central bureau for municipal statistics should be copied only in part, if at all, by other cities.

The reports of the Boston Statistics Department should not be followed:

1. They fail to disclose inefficiency or efficiency. Their school statistics never informed Boston that she led the cities of the country in percentage of backward pupils. Statistics of milk inspection give no idea of violations of law, milk destroyed, fines imposed.
2. They fail to compare service with cost of service.
3. They fail to compare one year's facts with those of the year preceding, hence give no idea whether the city is going backward or forward in its business management.
4. They fail so to relate different sets of facts published that the average citizen sees the significance of one in terms of the other. For example, cause,—decline in efficiency of the milk inspection or a protracted period of extreme heat, is not

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connected in any way with effect,—a marked increase in infant mortality.

5. They give not all essential facts as to all city activities, but a limited range of facts that it (the Statistics Department) sees fit.
6. They have not attempted to convince the general public of its obligation to the Department and the advantage of giving it adequate support. It is receiving less money to-day than in 1897.

The plan of organisation of Boston's Central Bureau of Statistics should not be copied:

1. No voluntary bureau should have power to decide what information is not yet of sufficient value to be properly classified. The measure of need for statistical classification is not what any committee "sees fit," but rather the number of distinct things a city is trying to do and the number of general agents or divisions through which it works to accomplish these ends. These are matters of fact, not of opinion.
2. The Statistics Department is a volunteer board divorced from the cabinet of municipal officers who vote away and spend city money.
3. Not having administrative results to accomplish, it has no power to prepare blanks of original entry. In a government organised for efficiency every blank issued would be devised with reference to the ultimate statistical value of the information called for on that blank.
4. It has no power to make sure that its own reports are based upon correct summaries of original records.
5. It does not maintain a clearing house accessible at all times to taxpayers and officers with per-

manent records of all facts in summary. Instead it confines its labours to those facts that at a particular time it sees fit to publish. It may be advisable to entrust to a committee the selection of material to be published in a city document, but it should be possible for taxpayers to obtain a summary of results in any department, even though the statistical authority does not regard this information of sufficient general interest to warrant publication.

6. It does not exemplify in its own office the business methods and principles of classification necessary for city departments.
7. It has accepted for itself the rôle of special investigator for department heads where it might have become special informant in advance of interest on the part of those officials.
8. The Department, its original program and its later execution illustrate German precedent rather than Boston needs,—“The establishment of this Department was due to Mayor Quincy’s study of municipal government in Europe. The Department was not established in response to what might be called a public demand.”

The “whatever-it-sees-fit,” private-investigating-bureau idea has recently been copied by New York’s department of finance. That city would have rebelled against a suggestion to place in one official’s hands power of turning street lights off or on at will to serve a political purpose, to protect a friend or to confound an enemy. But because citizens do not as yet associate statistics with light they indifferently looked on while

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the comptroller secured from the state legislature a Bureau of Municipal Investigation with power to turn on the light where and when he sees fit. Several students saw that the New York replica not only copied the weaknesses of the Boston bureau, but had not even the saving grace of a non-partisan board to insure presumptively disinterested motive. There was at least one conference to consider open opposition to the bill. No action was taken, chiefly because no one suspected that the comptroller himself cared enough about his bill to persuade the mayor to approve it contrary to the judgment of the latter's financial advisers. But the bill became a law and the bureau is well financed. What an opportunity was lost—or postponed—we shall see by reviewing briefly the events that led to its establishment.

New York's first bureau of municipal statistics was an exotic, modelled on a foreign idea, not a local desire to know. Its results were so indefinite and so unintelligible to the average man that Mayor Van Wyck was not seriously censured for discontinuing it. At the present time there are few men conversant with the social needs of New York City or with the taxpayer's interests who would wish to have the old bureau revived. Had its work been more significant it is probable that Mayor Low and his cabinet would have made an effort to secure either a modification of the charter, or would have proceeded under powers already possessed, to establish a fact centre, by whatever

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name it might be called. But even so late as Mayor Low's administration, 1901-1903, and although the public was aroused as never before to the need for so-called good government, neither Mayor Low nor his cabinet took one step to secure a statistical clearing house. Moreover no important step was taken by the mayor or any one of his department heads to secure for individual bureaus or for departments a method of describing service rendered, cost of that service or city needs that would make possible an intelligent judgment on the part either of the mayor, his subordinates, the press or the taxpayer. Hence it was that the public was ignorant of its obligation to the reform administration, just as it has previously been ignorant of its reason for resentment against Crokerism. Not having educated the public throughout their administration, the so-called reformers were compelled when seeking re-election to resort to the time-honoured method of fireworks, eulogy, indictment and tardy *ex parte* tabulation of selected results, instead of running on the record, legible to all, of work done and pledges kept. Despite the high intentions that dominated its leaders the Low government left only an insignificant impression upon departmental methods. It was almost, if not quite, as easy for political heads to be inefficient and to conceal inefficiency after as before the "good men's" régime. So unconsciously was the importance of marshalling facts overlooked that the Low administration during its last week—Christmas,

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1902—permitted itself to be placed in the position of seeming to curtail the most popular features of the school system,—vacation and night schools, recreation centres and popular lectures. When a storm of indignation arose the administration had nothing on which to base its defence but a suspicion of extravagance on the part of the board of education.

The first serious step toward securing municipal statistics on which to base financial policy was made by Comptroller Grout when left alone to wrestle with the popular indignation resulting from the joint action of himself, Mayor Low and Borough President Swanstrom of Brooklyn. For several months the comptroller, now on the defensive, employed special investigators to inquire into the management of the public schools. Having been sent out to prove extravagance, and having a limited time in which to discover it, the investigators sought superficial evidence, instead of making public what must have promptly seemed clear to them, that no matter what its pedagogical scheme, the board of education, as at that time organised, using the business methods then in vogue, could no more prevent extravagance and disproportion of expense and administration than an engine can help running off the track if the rails are loose. Unfortunately the discussion was early diverted from efficient methods of recording school experience to criticism of so-called fads and frills. Instead of an impartial inquiry into the whole of the school system, evidence was selected

here and there, which when presented in bitter language had little effect except to inspire vindictiveness on the part of school officers. In other words, this protracted and expensive controversy was little more than a special plea for or against the board of education, the superintendent of schools and the curriculum in force. By making the educational authorities self-conscious the comptroller's fiscal tonic indirectly led to numerous economies and strengthened the hands of those commissioners who wanted efficiency. There was nothing to indicate in any of the comments on the school system that the comptroller himself realised that his own department, as well as practically every other department of the city, was suffering from the same disease.

The defects of the city's original records and of department reports were first publicly recognised in Mayor McClellan's message, January, 1905, when he appointed a Finance Commission¹ to inquire into (1) taxation and revenue; (2) city debt and special assessments, and (3) existing methods of recording financial transactions and administrative results of city departments.

¹The Commission has not yet reported, and consists of Edgar J. Levey, Chairman; (*Taxation*) Joseph Haag, Morris K. Jesup, Lawson Purdy, Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, Francis Lynde Stetson; (*City Debt*) Charles T. Barney, John J. Delany, John L. Cadwalder, Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, Edward M. Shepard; (*Accounting*) Prof. Frederick A. Cleveland, John Crane, Julian D. Fairchild, John C. Hertle, Herman Ridder.

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Little headway was made, so far as the public was concerned, except to give the erroneous impression that conditions were improving until Comptroller Grout retired, for his experts declared that the mayor's commission was unnecessary and resented the implication that financial records and methods were not already satisfactory. The new comptroller, as shown in the last chapter, confessed quite freely, even swore to and about the failure of city records to throw light either on city need or city work. During the winter of 1906 there was much discussion as to municipal accounting and municipal statistics at national conferences of bankers and others. After applauding Comptroller Metz for his insight and his pledges, authorities on finance failed to influence him in planning his statistical clearing house.

The present bureau of municipal investigations is responsible solely to one of seven members of the board of estimate and apportionment, namely, the comptroller. There is nothing in its charter to insure the automatic recording of original acts so as to furnish a basis for impartial statistics. It does not look beyond the surface results obtainable in various departments but accepts, apparently, the defective book-keeping and deficient statistics of those departments. Underlying a comptroller's investigation as well as a National People's Lobby must be records and summaries upon which the comptroller and the people may rely.



FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND

**Chairman, Sub-Committee on Accounting, Finance
Commission appointed by Mayor McClellan.**



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The bureau was organised in June, 1906, and for the first six months the only statements made by the press with regard to it concerned the rate of compensation and the interest, influence or boss to whom its officers owed their appointment. As an illustration, one important post is filled by a man of threefold distinction: (1) As stage manager of cart-tail speeches in behalf of reform; (2) As chief bartender of the Subway Tavern, which was a moral, social and financial failure; (3) As deliverer of cart-tail speeches to Tammany. More recently the discredited head of a bureau whose inefficiency reached notorious proportions was transferred, after "public exoneration," to a post as expert in the bureau. Although manned in time to have influenced the character of the budget for 1907, it found out nothing and suggested nothing to reduce the misappropriations and uncertainties of that budget. It is doubtful if the bureau as at present organised can ever overcome the obstacles presented by the statutory definition of its purpose, *i. e.*, to make special investigations for the comptroller. In November, 1906, it was directed by the board of estimate and apportionment to recommend by May 1, 1907, a plan for producing a businesslike budget for the year 1908. There is reason to fear that it will not only fail to carry this message to Garcia, but that by May 1st it will have forgotten Garcia's name and the significance of his position. Its fundamental idea is incompatible with adequate statistical service. Instead of sifting, sum-

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marising and classifying information descriptive of each important governmental function, without regard to any one's opinion of the work to be described; instead of presenting things that are comparable side by side; instead of showing the value of each line of service in terms of other service purchasable by the same expenditure, this bureau has thus far avowed no other purpose than to make certain inquiries after the comptroller has decided that for one reason or another he would like to know more about some special subject.

The central bureau of municipal statistics that efficiency demands will present official facts and interesting questions which would otherwise escape the attention of taxpayer and officer. The statistics themselves, when automatically recorded and properly classified, will call attention to weak links in the administrative chain. There is as much difference between an investigating bureau that looks out for only those things that a particular city officer happens to be interested in or provoked about, and a municipal bureau that tells the truth clearly regarding every city activity without fear or favour, as there is between a modern fire department with electric signals and the old-style volunteer bucket brigade. A government fact centre should belong to taxpayers and not to officials. Until the Boston plan has more evidence to offer than it can yet show, it will be safe for cities like Philadelphia, Chicago and New Orleans to experiment with a bureau

that shall be subject to the fiscal authority and responsive to demands of administrative heads and taxpayers. In smaller communities that place the purse in control of aldermen and mayor without the intervention of a fiscal board it will probably be wise to hold the mayor responsible for municipal statistics. Every public administrative centre should have a fact centre. It is just as important for a township of ten school districts as for a city with ten wards, though for some time to come efficiency of townships will depend largely upon state law enforcing uniform and adequate records and reports audited and perhaps published by the state. Just what the bureau should be, how many desks it should contain, what changes it should make in original records, how many officers it should employ are matters that must be decided with regard to each local situation, aided by a state clearing house for uniform local reports. Happily they are matters that business experience enables the business doctor to decide quickly after a thorough examination is made.

A statistical summary should always represent a circle of facts equal to the interest to be determined by a man's judgment. So far as a public official ought to know more than a taxpayer, so far as his responsibility exceeds that of the taxpayer, it is proper for him to have information inaccessible to the taxpayer. If, however, it be true, as we have been taught to believe, that our government is representative, and that the taxpayer—the man who pays taxes in money or the

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man who pays taxes in labour—is really the one who governs and has only delegated his authority as a matter of convenience to himself; if it be true that the elected official is smaller than the body he represents, then a fact centre, always accessible, always containing a maximum of information known to a community about itself, is as much the right of the taxpayer as is his vote. Fear will be expressed here and there that the taxpayer cannot afford a central bureau. As we have seen in business, in administration of hospital, school, charity and church, wherever and whenever a task is worth doing, it is worth doing efficiently. No task is so slight, no investigation so small, no effect so insignificant that it is not worth while to know its significance. A library worth having is worth cataloguing. Marceline, the clown in the New York Hippodrome, has a life contract for making the crowds laugh at a man who is always so busy that he cannot do anything right; cities may not wisely copy his example. No community is so poor as not to be able to afford classified records. No community is rich enough to afford unclassified records. Nowhere in the world can experience be classified without a clearing house no matter what its name, where facts may be sorted, tagged, lined up according to height, made to tell the public the meaning of its experience and made to throw light upon the path that leads to what we have in mind when we speak of good government by good men.

XIII

Efficiency in Civic Leadership

THERE is no royal road to efficiency in volunteer work. The man who gives time or money must take the steps that are necessary for paid officials, if he is to fit himself to distinguish between fact and fancy. He must first want to know the important things about the whole of the field in which he works. He must count, after learning what units of inquiry to count. He must classify, compare, summarise. The world will not go to pieces, it may not even rebuke him, if he fails or refuses to take these steps. On the other hand, it will properly refuse to follow his lead and will distrust his recommendations. "Every little helps a little" is not always true, for often the littles postpone for months and years the achievement of great ends. Money will accomplish wonders, but unless accompanied by consistent mental effort, it cannot purchase for its possessor sound judgment regarding public affairs.

The particular brand of intelligence needed by government is intelligence with regard to government and not intelligence with regard to ethics, fiction, law and business. A man may be a walking dictionary, a living encyclopedia, a bacteriological laboratory, or

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the personification of virtue, but these will not make him intelligent as to government. Given a hundred so-called best citizens in a millionaire's parlour, and a hundred frequenters of a Bowery saloon, and it would be a rash man who would feel sure that the average intelligence as to government, its needs, its justice, its methods is higher in the parlour than in the saloon.

In computing the average of intelligence as to government, we have to consider the intensity and momentum of the few who are earnestly trying to better government, as well as the inertia of the vast majority who as yet prefer heroes and scandal to intelligence and efficiency.

Here and there the active few will secure for all classes benefits that the rank and file are not conscious of wanting, but, generally speaking, government and government statistics will represent only average interest in public affairs. It is, therefore, to be expected that the active minority will always try for more than the public is ready to give or to receive.

“ . . . A man's reach should exceed his grasp
Or what's a heaven for.”

Democracy's greatest problem is this, how can we utilise without excessive waste the tremendous potential force of the small percentage who, feeling keenly the injustice, the discrepancies and inefficiencies of government, are willing to make sacrifices. if thus they can help remove discrepancy, inefficiency and injustice.

To-day there is enormous waste of civic interest and

of potentially efficient citizenship. Everywhere it is the same story, the handful of citizens striving to lead their communities upward and forward are compelled to be superficial and to flit from one important subject to another. They appear before the City Fathers for the whole gamut of social needs, now for more school buildings, next week against more school buildings if located in small parks; to-day for a park in the south end, to-morrow against a park on the west side. Legislators and executives come to recognise the old familiar faces and the veteran arguments redressed by substitution of *milk* for *tenement* in appeals for more inspection, or by inserting *removal* where *appointment* was used when last discussing a commission. When new issues arise, instead of enlisting new faces and new arguments, our battle-scarred soldiers of the common good speak their lightning-change pieces with the vigour and optimism that have earned them the opprobrious titles,—rounders, faddists, enthusiasts, professional reformers bent on minding other people's business, outsiders interfering with the affairs of paid officials.

Not having superior information to interest and impress officer and public, we good-intentioned advocates of social betterment often hurt the cause we plead. I have in mind two public hearings on matters that had been given a great deal of forced agitation. At one the need for a park in a certain congested neighborhood was lost sight of, in a wrangle of two factions of

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good people over the question whether one gas house plus two abattoirs was more offensive and detrimental to health than one abattoir plus two gas houses. At the other hearing an earnest, vivacious woman, well known for sympathy and goodness, made a scintillating, almost blinding, appeal for the poor, whom, like Napoleon, she so much loved. The chairman answered,—“Mrs. X., if a man had spoken as have you, I should reply: Point one, froth; point two, impractical; point three, emotion; point four, chimerical. But with Mrs. X., I am in hearty accord.” And there the matter has rested to this day.

The principles to be followed, if volunteer bodies are to lead and not mislead public opinion, are ably laid down in a letter written by an experienced observer, who regrets the failure of a certain publicity campaign.

“In using publicity as a weapon it is not sufficient to enlist the attention of the thinking few. They do not constitute public opinion, especially that rough and ready public opinion that brings about prompt results. To create effective public opinion, the mass of readers must be interested and convinced. And who are these readers? They are men and women busy with their own little affairs, mildly curious about outside happenings, willing to be informed providing the obtaining of the information does not take too much time or cause too much mental effort, quickly responsive to an appeal that really moves them, but absolutely impervious to academic argument or to tepid intimations.

"The attitude of the majority of readers towards any one who tries to reach them is substantially this,—If you have any facts to submit to us, state them and state them plainly. If you perceive any conclusions that should be drawn from those facts, point them out to us explicitly and definitely. If they show derelictions of duty or wrongdoing of any kind, tell us so and tell us why. We are willing to listen to you if you have something to say and the courage to say it plainly, but if you are yourself in the mood of hesitating intimation don't bother us until you have reached a conclusion that you are willing to stand for.

"I would not publish a fact as a fact until it had clearly been ascertained to be a fact—not evolved from the depths of our consciousness, but tested and proved by investigation. I would be very careful not to present an argument or conclusion based upon those facts unless I was sure that it is a logical argument and also a self-evident conclusion. But having thus ascertained our facts and reached our conclusions, I would present them to the public in the most precise, direct, definite and forcible language we can command, mincing no words and dodging no conclusions.

"The failure to grasp this is the fundamental reason why bodies like ours nearly always fail in their attempts to lead public opinion. Among those who really mould public opinion, and who are experts at it, these amateur efforts are either laughed at or regarded with a mild disdain. They are viewed as an example of good intention, but wasted effort, and it is clearly understood that unless our tentative overtures are taken up and emphasised by those who really know how public opinion is shaped, the air has simply been vexed with blank cartridges."

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To get facts, verify facts, base our conclusions on facts and then publish them so as to enlighten and convince public opinion, is not so easy as it sounds. Facts cost money; facts cost time; facts cost both time and money, a great deal of both, and more of both than the average volunteer agency is able to secure from the contributing public. Sick babies still surpass facts as a magnet for gifts of money and time. It is for these gifts that the honey bee hurriedly flits from flower to flower, shunning the margin of diminishing returns and intensive cultivation. Givers want to see things done rather than light shed. Few civic and charitable societies are able to gather, compile, interpret and publish facts fast enough to convince the average giver that things are being done. Hence the search for some new thing to do or some new way of describing old things done again—money must be had and annual reports must furnish justification for further appeals. It is a simple evolutionary principle that is followed by civic leaders when they “bombard Gibraltar with green peas.” Gibraltar remains to be bombarded another day. Green peas give excuse for noise, and strange as it may seem to outsiders, noise brings credit for a time a few times, and while it lasts credit brings money. Because doing things is more promptly remunerative than throwing light, civic movements intended to be primarily educational often add charity for a noisemaker. These incidental activities are like narcotics in their demand for ever in-



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creasing doses. In a surprisingly short time neighbourhood houses intended to bring uptown and downtown into co-operation for the improvement of government agencies belonging to both, become relief bureaus and schools and dispensaries; thus movements designed to light a city degenerate into candle exhibits under a bushel. Attention is diverted from a municipal bath house capable of bathing 9,000 tenement residents a day to the three shower baths of a church club; from the housing conditions of two million souls to a block of model tenements for forty families; from 200,000 children behind their proper grade in school to a dozen Swedish maids who want to learn English; from the crusade against consumption to a hospital for twenty or two hundred consumptives; from universal education to higher education for women. Pictures are taken of hot-house trees on a 10x40 roof garden maintained by private philanthropy, while truckmen razing buildings for a proposed public park nearby cut down fifty trees because "It's aisy to back up fer brick, mum." A philanthropist spends a hundred times as much in pasteurising a fraction of a city's milk supply as would produce facts to persuade a community to protect its entire milk supply by procuring clean dairies and clean milk shops.

Given civic energy concentrated on personal work, plus zeal for constructive social work, and all the conditions exist for inefficient civic leadership. This is not to say that personal work is not laudable, but merely to

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affirm that it is so remotely civic in its results that not infrequently it may with best of motives hurt, not help, the community as a whole.

Efficient civic leadership is based, like Andrew Carnegie's fortune, upon "the divine right of delegation." Something must be left for existing institutions and for their leaders to do. To harness a whole community to an idea is infinitely better than to try to carry it alone. To do on an infinitesimal scale in one district for one group of persons what schools, health officers and parks can be made to do for all persons in all districts is a wasteful expenditure of social energy. We have already seen how efficient leadership at the Taxpayers' Hearing of October, 1906, before the New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment paid high social dividends on an investment of \$500. When Taxpayer's Day was prescribed by the charter, many reformers felt that henceforth the annual budget would of course express the taxpayer's wishes. While not expecting citizens to appear *en masse* each year, it was felt that city officers would be profoundly influenced by the mere knowledge that one particular day was set aside for taxpayers to question each year's budget. But reformers did not take into account the helplessness of taxpayers in the presence of a budget that even the mayor and comptroller could not understand. As few people were willing to run the risk of showing their ignorance, Taxpayers' Hearing necessarily became a mere form. On the day

in question a full calendar of routine business was provided, showing that the members of the fiscal board had intended to adjourn after perfunctorily asking,—“Are any taxpayers present to speak on the budget?” Such was their surprise and indignation upon seeing a roomful of men and women who might want to talk, that one official is said to have remarked to a colleague,—“Isn't this the worst bunch of citizens ever?”

“The bunch of citizens” offered first a health budget, based upon last year's health work, not upon last year's mis-guesses. The secretary of the Bureau of City Betterment began:—“Your honourable board has in the past granted money to the board of health for eleven general divisions. There are, however, forty divisions, each of which has its special work to do. The thoroughness and extent of the work of each division determines the health conditions of the city as a whole. We ask that before voting this budget you demand information respecting the work of the health department in every division for which an appropriation is needed.” The mayor interrupted at this point and said that while the gentleman's remarks were very interesting, he could not see that they were pertinent to the occasion. The relevancy of the suggestion was then explained to the fiscal authorities more clearly than they were prepared to expect. Facts were produced regarding the department of health not known to the department of health itself, to the mayor, the comptroller or other members of the board of esti-

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mate and apportionment. The speaker reminded them that they were deciding a question not of dollars but of human life, the number of babies that would needlessly die, the school children who would suffer from removable physical defects. He described for the general public the unbusinesslike practice of voting away millions for salaries without knowing the work to be done by means of those salaries, in fact without even learning that they were not used for the purposes advertised. He might have recalled an appropriation of the year before voted the department of education for vacation schools but not so used, although more than the equivalent of the sum diverted from the purpose was used for increasing the salaries of the supervising staff. If the protest against present methods of accounting and budget making had been based upon hearsay or upon the uninformed goodness of the protestors, nothing would have happened after adjournment. Being based, however, upon a count and classification of last year's payroll according to work accomplished and not according to title carried by employees, and upon further facts offered by a district superintendent of schools and others familiar with the benefits of physical examination of school children, the appeal effected the following results:

1. An increase of \$100,000 for school inspection.
2. A health budget showing work planned, with its funds segregated to insure the execution of the plan.

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3. The board of estimate and apportionment by resolution instructed the finance department to submit estimates for next year's budget so as to show work done in 1907 and work contemplated for 1908 in every department, which step cannot be taken unless
4. All city records are reorganised so as to show work done and cost of that work for every department.

The attendance on Taxpayers' Day testifies to New York's need for efficient, informed leaders in municipal affairs. The preceding year had been one of disquieting revelations as to corruption in politics and in high finance. The hearing was held in the midst of a campaign described by the victorious candidate for governor as a trial of the conscience of the people, an issue between the good and the bad. Good motives were being eulogised, agitated, fairly churned. Never before had so many worn the goodness button. Yet on this last and only occasion for defining the kind of government the metropolis of America was to have next year, not one popular idol was present, not one inveterate good citizen, not one of the gentlemen of means whose respectability is supposed to be a bulwark against bad government, not a political reformer and not a muck raker. Nobody appeared for cleaner and safer streets, more playgrounds, more kindergartens, popular lectures, school sittings, patrolmen, for industrial education or for economy and efficiency in city expenditures. One man did appear against a crematory



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near his residence, but he was ruled out of order because he could not find the place in the budget where a crematory was mentioned; in fact he was not even sure that it was called by that name. The State Charities Aid Association presented cogent reasons, based upon a clear analysis of the facts, for paying better salaries to nurses in city hospitals. Without these two and the unexpected demand for intelligent, adequate health appropriations, the fiscal board, about to vote away \$40 for every individual in the city, would have been without one influence from the taxpayer and voter—up to last year's tax rate, which they dared not increase.

The ultimate efficient state will stigmatise post-budget expressions of virtuous indignation as a weak substitute for intelligent ante-budget demands and arguments. Failure to take timely intelligent interest in budget appropriations will disqualify a civic leader from criticising authorities for carrying out those very proposals. Drawing paper swords on the dragon of corruption will be seen to raise the level of public intelligence in much the same degree as signing a note settles a store account.

If we assume that for all time there will be a great diversity of interest and of special knowledge, the equal development of the state will require a multiplication of volunteer agencies whose special business it shall be to inform the public constantly of its rights, opportunities and needs, each agency giving that

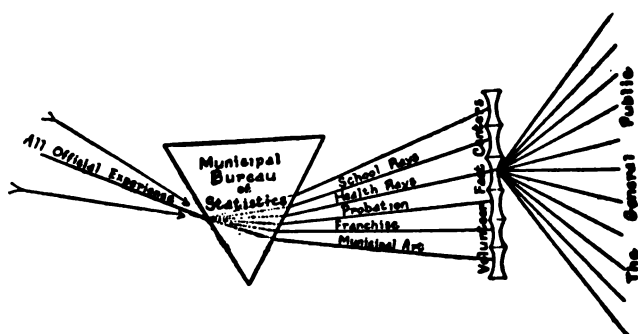


ROBERT W. DE FOREST

President of the New York Charity Organization Society,
Chairman, New York Tenement House Commission, and first
Commissioner of the Tenement House Department.



knowledge in which it specialises. How society as a whole may benefit from a division of labour and from specialisation of knowledge may be illustrated by the spectrum. What we call light is known to consist of rays of different lengths and different colours. When passed through a spectrum, white light breaks into long and short rays of distinct colours—violet, blue, green, red, yellow.



So facts regarding government vary in colour, length, kind and significance. A municipal bureau of statistics would act as a spectrum separating essential facts as to respective fields, so that the school rays would be kept distinct from prison rays, health rays, etc. But, as shown in the diagram, health rays uninterpreted by the active few who are giving health matters their particular attention, appeal to the intelligence of but a small section of public opinion. Without efficient leadership, therefore, the benefits of a municipi-

pal bureau of statistics will be lost upon the vast majority of those capable of comprehending city experience and city needs. Efficient use of a municipal bureau of statistics requires that school rays pass through another spectrum provided by a volunteer body, to be called perhaps a public education association, which shall break these rays up into their component parts,—work done, work undone, experiments made, lessons taught, backward pupils, defective records—and then by a mirror casting the light of its interpretation upon an entire community. Likewise the state charities aid associations will absorb, and give back interpreted, the rays that disclose lessons regarding almshouses and insane asylums; prison associations will give the public the benefit of special knowledge and interest pertaining to prevention of crime; metropolitan associations having to do with parks, kindergartens, day nurseries, art, sanitation and playgrounds will quickly absorb their special colours and help the public determine upon next year's blends. If any one agency fails to absorb and interpret and publish the facts entrusted to it, next year's work in its department will lose ground. Whether a particular agency is efficient, whether its rays come from a gas jet, an arc light or a flickering beacon, depends upon its efficiency in absorbing, interpreting and publishing the experience of city, county, state or nation.

The private fact centre should be connected with the public fact centre or municipal bureau of statistics,



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as a telephone switch with a telephone centre, whence facts of importance, like rays from the spectrum, would be transmitted automatically to the volunteer spectrum and there translated into language intelligible to a general public. No one would be permitted to talk who was not connected with one or more centres.

The number of individual fact centres will depend upon the number of separate fields of civic endeavour that are efficiently organised. Preceding chapters have shown several fields that are as yet inadequately lighted and now require technical efficiency on the part of officials and leaders. Other fields will readily occur to the reader: parks, playgrounds, housing, day nurseries, pure foods, unsanitary conditions, infant mortality, mental defectives, school ventilation, school curriculum, flexible grading, child labour, woman's work, employment for the left overs and misfits, public art, the small city, immigration, public bequests, public subsidy of private philanthropy, loan sharks, sources of vice, white slave traffic, teaching of civics in schools, county and township government salaries, civil service reform, standard of living. The number of fact centres needed by a particular individual depends upon the number of different fields with regard to which that individual exercises judgment. The experience involved in securing facts as the basis of opinion would undoubtedly lead to the consolidation of societies that now devote themselves to one phase

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of a general subject or to one portion of a district needing attention. Such consolidation will make it possible for each subscriber to possess the aggregate of information gathered and published by all agencies.

The Institute for Municipal Research will suggest from time to time new lines of inquiry that should be undertaken. Moreover, it will aid efficient societies to work together so that they can present a solid front to the city and not dissipate their energies by working against each other. Such a central bureau interpreting public and official knowledge will be of inestimable value in shaping budgets, for it will possess all the facts necessary to show whether a demand for an advance in schools or parks or for some social experiment must be at the expense of some other more important municipal activity.

XIV

Brief for the Establishment of an Institute for Municipal Research¹

MUNICIPAL government is engaging the attention of earnest men and women in every part of the United States, more particularly in large cities, as never before.

That those who want "good government" are in the majority recent events,—east, west, north, south,—have proved conclusively.

Desire for what is called "good government" existed prior to the municipal campaign of 1905, and will exist long after the present surface tumult has subsided.

The enthusiasm and concerted action of those desiring good government was due to temporary clear vision with respect to the single issue, supposed good intention against supposed evil intention in government.

Clear vision may result from skilled or reiterated presentation of fact or apparent fact as well as from

¹Prepared in November, 1905, immediately after the then-called moral upheaval that led so many newspapers, magazines and exponents of goodness to prophesy the disappearance of the boss.

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accident, catastrophe, scandal, hero worship, excitement or passion. Christian living is possible without the extravagance of revival and camp meeting. Readers of high-class newspapers do not lament the absence of sensational pictures, misleading headlines, gross exaggeration and falsification. Large appropriations for protection to health and property are made regularly without waiting for epidemics and conflagrations; streets are lighted and patrolled, as a matter of course, to make it obviously dangerous to commit crimes of violence, and to give a sense of security to citizens. By means of facts regarding the extent, cost, cause, curability and preventability of tuberculosis, the crusade against that scourge has in a comparatively short time produced upon the average mind vivid impressions far more persistent and beneficial than those produced by epidemics of yellow fever, typhoid or smallpox, or by such catastrophes as the burning of the Iroquois Theatre and the Slocum Excursion Boat.

Continued clear vision with regard to problems of municipal government is not possible at the present time for even the most intelligent citizen, because nobody knows the facts.

So little are the facts of municipal government understood that even the so-called moral upheaval of November last against supposed evil intention in government, did not bring with it the realisation that government cannot be good unless it is efficient, no matter

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how honest the official. An honest man, ignorant of the etiology of disease and the legal and medical agencies for preventing and controlling it, will fail to protect water, milk and food from pollution, to control infection when discovered and to arrest at their source causes that make for decreased vitality. In private affairs repeated experience has caused all but the least intelligent of the community to realise that good service means efficient service, and that an honest man who is inefficient can do more to defeat the purpose for which he is employed, than a dishonest man compelled by intelligent supervision to render efficient service.

In the absence of facts regarding municipal government, its diseases and their remedies and its possibilities for common benefit if properly directed, we cannot hope to retain permanently the high ground at present occupied by the average citizen with respect to the dangers of what he calls bad government. Much less can we expect his present aroused conscience, uninformed, to show him the danger and expensiveness of inefficient government, or the benefits to be derived from efficient administration of municipal business.

Up to the present time no mechanism has been evolved for furnishing either leaders or followers with the facts necessary to sound judgment regarding problems of municipal government or the acts and pretensions of officials and candidates. Almost without exception so-called reform governments have emphasised goodness rather than efficiency, and have, like their corrupt



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predecessors, failed to see or emphasise the need for a mechanism of effective cumulative publicity.

The production of intelligence has not been undertaken by governing officials for obvious reasons: (1) Party discipline subordinates fact to expediency. (2) Officials have been chosen for service to party,—past or prospective—rather than for fitness to perform public duties assumed; or perhaps good men have been placed in office to rebuke bad men or to carry out a program that a knowledge of actual conditions would have shown in advance to be impracticable. (3) Those officers who determine the character of statement given out to the public have, for the most part, been exempt from civil service provisions, therefore have not held office long enough to discover needs and devise remedies even if desiring to do so; when returned to office, it has seemed more expedient to devote their energies to policies that have actually resulted in perverting facts rather than to methods that would discover and present the truth. (4) Frequent changes of officers occupying high positions have prevented the development of continuous policy, the existence of continuing memory or clear understanding of the facts on the part of those charged with municipal government. (5) Not having intelligence, officials and their subordinates have naturally been unable to impart it to the public.

Whatever facts we now possess with regard to the fundamental nature and inner workings of municipal

government we owe chiefly to voluntary associations. Notable examples are the sanitary associations that have educated the public to demand stringent health legislation and increasingly effective administration; and charitable associations that have achieved significant reforms, such as the segregation of sexes in almshouses and gaols, the placing of children in homes instead of poorhouses and asylums, probation of juvenile and adult offenders, medical care for the insane and imbecile, prohibition of out-door relief, enactment of child labour and compulsory education laws, state supervision of charities and correction. In these so-called social fields it has been possible by fairly continuous educational pressure to secure a high degree of general intelligence, (still elementary, however, and limited to what ought to be), that is without analogy in that field suggested by the terms municipal, political and governmental. This higher standard of intelligence with regard to social aspects of government has cost considerable sums of money and untold hours of labour. Those who have given money and time are, as a rule, already overtaxed, and can hardly be expected to undertake similar work in the more comprehensive field of municipal government. Historically, it has been found extremely difficult to interest men and women in constructive civic work before they have been interested in philanthropic work; it would seem visionary, therefore, to expect to arouse a general interest in attempts to secure facts regarding

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municipal government among those elements of society whose interest has not already been pre-empted by so-called social work.

If we are ever to have an efficient agent for producing intelligence with regard to the whole field of municipal government, we must look to some other source than (1) officials who thrive upon confusion, or (2) voluntary associations already undertaking more than they can do thoroughly, and tempted by the exigencies of their support to confine their activity to fields where quick and obvious results are obtainable.

The supreme need, therefore, in the field of municipal government is an agency dependent neither upon politics nor upon an average public intelligence that lacks the facts necessary to comprehend the need for such agency. This agency should be guaranteed in advance freedom from the necessity either of compromising its statement of fact, or of doing superficial work in order to secure popular support. It should be completely equipped and clearly instructed (1) to collect, (2) to classify, (3) to compile, (4) to make ready for general publication, perhaps itself to publish, significant facts regarding municipal government, (5) to establish standards of scientific method in collecting, classifying and publishing facts with a view to being helpful to officials, volunteers, editors and students in every part of the country. In other words, the supreme need is for an intelligence centre that will substitute fact for calamity or scandal as teacher to citizenship,

and by increasing the number who reason from fact to policy, tend gradually to abolish reactionary, revolutionary or blundering leadership, while progressively diminishing the extremes to which such leadership may go in defeating or misrepresenting the protective, benevolent and constructive purposes of government.

If the foregoing premises are accepted, if it is admitted that there is an urgent need for an Institute for Municipal Research, three practical questions remain to be answered: (1) What work should be undertaken, namely, what facts should be collected, classified, co-ordinated, compiled and published? (2) What mechanism is necessary for doing this work? (3) In what city shall the work of research begin?

I

WORK TO BE DONE
BY THE

INSTITUTE FOR MUNICIPAL RESEARCH

1. Analysis of annual budgets.
2. Examination of departmental reports from the standpoint of the taxpayers' interest in results accomplished.
3. Critical study of the finance department's present attempts to give publicity through the *City Record*.
4. Scientific study of the framework of government:
 - (a) Charter provisions.
 - (b) Organisation of departments.
 - (c) Methods of control.

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5. Minute analysis of facts regarding different departments,—organisation, expense, results obtained and methods of presenting results—education, health, parks, docks, board of aldermen, borough president, board of estimate, comptroller's office, mayor's office.
6. Examination of facts regarding the city debt.
7. Examination of facts regarding franchises.
8. Sociological research:
 - (a) Extent and cause of remediable conditions that indicate governmental responsibility for the physical deterioration of children; for pauperism; for crime; for preventable disease, etc.
 - (b) Other investigations that may from time to time indicate vast possibilities, but obviously requiring expenditures or continuity of service in excess of the capacity of existing volunteer associations.

II

MECHANISM NECESSARY FOR ACCOMPLISHING THIS WORK

1. A governing body to consist of practical men seriously engaged in work that gives them vital and intelligent appreciation of the need for the scientific research contemplated.
2. A responsible executive officer.
3. Associate directors (two or three) to give their entire time to mapping out and supervising.
4. Competent investigators of demonstrated capacity and reliability.
5. A clerical staff highly efficient, graded according

to quantity and quality of work to be undertaken by the chief investigators.

6. Adequate equipment and housing of the staff with a view to making the Institute the national headquarters for facts, standards of work, suggestions as to new fields, etc.

III

IN WHAT CITY SHALL THE WORK OF RESEARCH BEGIN?

In New York City,—itself urgently in need of help,—whose standards are studied and imitated by every other city and whose conditions reveal tendencies and possibilities that can be more easily segregated and analysed than those of smaller communities.

ELABORATION OF OUTLINE OF WORK TO BE DONE

Inasmuch as a method has not hitherto been worked out for the scientific investigation of the subjects contained in the outline for Work to be Done by the Institute for Municipal Research, it has seemed best in this elaboration to indicate the line of investigation not by propositions, but by questions. This list of questions is by no means exhaustive, but will serve to illustrate immediate needs.

A. Analysis of Annual Budget

1. Why should the public officer have intimate knowledge of the budget?
2. Why should the taxpayer have intimate knowledge of the budget?

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3. Why should the press have intimate knowledge of the budget?
4. What facts are now known to officer, taxpayer or press regarding the budget?
5. What steps are now taken in making up the budget?
 - (a) By different departments?
 - (b) By the board of estimate and apportionment?
6. Is this year's estimate based upon last year's *estimate*, last year's *expenses* or next year's *need*?
7. In determining next year's need, is last year's estimate compared with last year's expenditures?
8. Are errors in last year's estimate repeated in this year's estimate, or are they corrected?
9. Has the board of estimate and apportionment any means of ascertaining whether this year's estimate is repeating errors contained in previous estimates?
10. How thoroughly is the annual budget now scrutinised by the superior officers of departments, by the members of the board of estimate and apportionment, and how much of this work is left to subordinate officers?
11. Is there provision at present for businesslike criticism of the budget by the departments, by the comptroller, by the mayor, by the president of the board of aldermen or by the other members of the board of estimate and apportionment?
12. Are there well-defined steps within departments for the preparation of the budget; what are they?
13. Are these steps uniform or has each department

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its own method, varying with the department head or his chief subordinates?

14. Is any provision made to guarantee that departments are asking enough to insure economical expenditure, preservation of property, etc.?
15. What method is there for explaining the budget to the general public in advance of action by the fiscal authorities?
16. What is the rule with regard to changes in budgetary appropriations by special resolution shifting appropriations from one head to another?
17. Are these transactions known in advance to the taxpayer?
18. Are such transactions remembered in preparing new budgets?
19. What is the rule with regard to supplementary appropriations; are these remembered in preparing succeeding budgets?
20. Are bond sales made with reference to present or future budgetary possibilities or may we by sale of bonds incur liabilities that must be met from current appropriations not contemplated by the budget?
21. Is there any check by the city on the expenditure of appropriations by departments?
22. If the appropriation intended for twelve months is expended within nine, would the fiscal authorities be notified promptly of this policy?
23. What is the present form of the budget?
24. How should a budget be prepared in order to conform to the requirements of modern business methods?

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**B. Examination of Departmental Reports from
the Standpoint of the Taxpayers' Interest in
Results Accomplished.**

1. Does the department of education issue an annual report?
2. What officials' signatures are attached to the chief and departmental reports?
3. What time elapses between the end of the year whose work is reported and the issuing of the report?
4. How many copies are issued; who is on the mailing list?
5. Do the reports indicate that the department expects them to educate the public?
6. Are the reports chiefly editorial and eulogistic, or do they explain clearly the problems confronting the department and the measure of success in coping with these problems?
7. Are there summary tables that show at a glance the results of last year's work, comparing them with the preceding year?
8. Is the tabular matter so presented as to bear out the editorial claims?
9. Are educational results clearly shown?
10. Are educational results compared with expenses incurred?
11. Is it possible to compare teacher with teacher, school with school, district with district, with respect to pupils enrolled, pupils on average register, pupils attending regularly, percentage of promotion, percentage failing of promotion?
12. Are discrepancies in tabular matter satisfactorily explained editorially?
13. Is the number of children enrolled compared

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with the number of children who ought to be enrolled?

14. How often, if ever, is a school census taken?
15. Is there evidence that the department is attempting to enforce the compulsory education law?
16. Is its failure admitted and traced to definite causes that the public may help correct?
17. Is the percentage of children over age shown grade by grade and school by school?
18. Is the presence of large numbers of backward children satisfactorily explained; is the public told what means are being taken to correct the situation?
19. If the purpose of universal education is to "enrich personality," does the report contain evidence that the present administration and the present curriculum give that result; is there evidence that it is failing to give result with a considerable proportion of children?
20. Does the report show a comprehension of the social problems that must be first taught through the public-school system?
21. Is it demonstrable that evening schools are "enriching personality"; if so, is their extension proportionate to the community's needs?
22. If kindergartens are justifiable, what proportion of the city is benefiting from them?
23. Is their tardy extension explained in the report?
24. Is there evidence that the results of vacation schools justify the expense; if so, are enough districts benefiting from such schools?
25. Do the reports of the department explain next year's needs and enable the public to give intelligent support to the budget estimates of the department?

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26. Does the report indicate adequate accounting of funds expended and adequate recording of educational results day by day; if not, what changes are apparently needed?
27. Does investigation of school records or of the methods of accounting confirm judgment based upon the report?
28. If changes in methods of accounting and reporting are needed, what additional information, or what further analysis should be recommended?
29. What changes in technique are required if the report of the department is to be truly educational?
30. What agencies can be used to secure in the department of education adequate methods of accounting in its business departments, or recording educational results and of reporting significant school facts to the general public?
31. What agencies can be utilised to secure from the city and from the department of education a curriculum and a policy of administration that will correct weaknesses revealed by adequate accounting and reporting?

During the year 1905 the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has aroused interest on the part of both fiscal and educational authorities in the situation brought to light by questions such as the preceding, with reference to the New York department of education. On the presentation of facts made possible by such methods the board of estimate adopted a new policy with regard to so-called special features of the school system,—popular lectures, vacation schools, recreation centres, night schools,—and practically tied its appropriations for this purpose. Later it requested the board of education to ask it for funds necessary to take a school census. A special committee of

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the department of education has recommended a revision of the methods of accounting and reporting and the establishment of a central clearing house for school information. In addition economies have been effected aggregating hundreds of thousands of dollars, and the form of the superintendent's report has been considerably modified and somewhat improved. These really important results have been accomplished by the expenditure of but a few hundred dollars in giving publicity to investigations conducted incidentally by the officers of the Association and by expert advisers interested in school needs.

Is there not reason to believe that similar results might be obtained by approaching in the same way various other city departments enumerated in the outline, and also the general subjects C to H inclusive, each of which is a veritable mine of sociological information ?

H. Sociological Research

The most important agency for benevolence is government. The discoveries of the bacteriologist and the pathologist with regard to communicable disease have little more than academic interest until the government takes a hand in applying those lessons to segregation of centres of infection, their extermination and the eradication of causes that breed disease germs. Our American communities, legislatures, courts, etc., have long been committed to the propositions that "ignorance of my rights is infringement on my rights," and that "my neighbour shall so use his property that it shall not jeopardise me in the enjoyment of my property."

In the field of sociology numerous things are happening daily that jeopardise person and property, such as crime, pauperism and communicable disease. To treat results is not constructive.

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To discover and to remedy causes is constructive but is expensive. Remedies are frequently applied that are based upon superficial information. Existing voluntary associations have not the means to investigate speedily and thoroughly explanations or remedies that are from time to time proposed. An Institute for Municipal Research seeing clearly the need for governmental application of medical and sociological data could advise voluntary associations as to fruitful fields of activity, and should from time to time itself take the lead in opening up new fields.

In June, 1906, ex-Mayor Low wrote as follows:

DEAR SIR—In reply to your letter of June 17th, asking my opinion as to the value of an Institute for Municipal Research, I say without hesitation that I think such an Institute, appropriately endowed, would be an invaluable agency in elevating the standard of municipal administration throughout the country. I think it is not open to question that the science of statistics, as applied to railroads, has been revolutionising, both as to economy of operation and as to efficiency. Bookkeeping is only one form of research; but it is absolutely fundamental, wherever the efficiency and economy of administration is concerned. As applied to educational problems, the same sort of study of detail is full of significance for the educator. *It is a safe generalisation to say that the more the public and the public officials can know as to the details of city administration, the better.* This does not mean that everybody will read the figures, for, as a matter of fact, very few will do so; but the interested and capable few will read them, and they will be guides to

lead the public on from point to point until the situation is improved everywhere.

The reason why an Institute of Municipal Research is needed in a country like ours springs from a variety of causes: partly from the size of the country, partly from the temporary nature of municipal office-holding, and partly from the fact that those who might do something, through their official positions, to aid such a cause either fail to command the leisure or the money or the disposition to do anything. A permanent bureau, well endowed and intelligently officered, would, in the course of a decade, in my judgment, have carried administration along many lines to a higher point than it has ever reached in this country; and I can see no reason why the good influence of such work should not be permanent and continuous.

After the idea had been tested for ten months by the Bureau of City Betterment the results were summarised as follows:

1. The adoption of the principle by the board of aldermen and the board of estimate that future budgets should clearly indicate for what specific purposes the money voted is to be expended.

2. The voting by the board of estimate, for the first time, of a classified departmental budget in which specific appropriations were made for specific needs and work to be done.

3. The appointment of a salary commission by the mayor to establish a businesslike and equitable method of increasing the salaries of civil employees.

4. The immediate discharge of an official proved incompetent and negligent.

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5. The appointment of a commission by the mayor to devise a method of abolishing and preventing the recurrence of unsanitary and illegal conditions found in tenements owned by the city.

6. The establishment of a special bureau in the city's law department to take up and press the claims of the city against street railroad companies for more than \$1,000,000 for paving done at the public's expense between the companies' rails, and the immediate institution of more than 100 suits to recover the money due.

When these results were presented to Honourable Carroll D. Wright, formerly United States commissioner of labour, and Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century*, they commented as follows.

Carroll D. Wright,
Clark College.

WORCESTER, MASS., November 19, 1906.

MY DEAR MR. CUTTING—I had the pleasure on Saturday of an exceedingly interesting conference with Mr. William H. Allen and Mr. Henry Bruere, and they gave me a very clear idea of plans looking to the founding of an Institute for Municipal Research, and I can assure you not only on account of their presentation, but from my knowledge of your own desires and efforts during many years, that proposition met with my most cordial sympathy and approval.

It seems to me that the municipal problem, as we know it popularly, constitutes one of the chief, if it is not the chief, problems of the day. Our cities grow so rapidly and they are so poorly governed that it is a matter of vital national importance that great reforms

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should be inaugurated, for if the cities are corrupt the influence on the rest of the country will be disastrous. Any effort, therefore, looking to the collection of data and their proper analysis and interpretation relative to such affairs is one of the most intensely important measures that can be considered. Government cannot do this. It can collect data to a certain extent, but it cannot interpret them in the way they should be interpreted to secure the very best results. There must, therefore, be some such institution as that suggested—an Institute for Municipal Research.

Now, such an Institute must not be a temporary affair. A temporary institution would fail, it seems to me, utterly in accomplishing the desired end. It must be an Institute so endowed that it can go on without anxiety relative to funds from year to year. I imagine it would be an easy matter to collect funds for a few years for such an institution. There are men enough in New York willing to contribute from time to time for its maintenance, but the viciousness of such a method is that the Institute might be brought under the influence of general control of some great interest on account of the amount of money contributed through or by that influence. This must be avoided if any really valuable results are to be expected. Such an Institute, therefore, as you have in mind should be put on a permanent basis. It will always find enough to do in various ways, for after the prevailing effects of mal-administration are removed there will be sufficient to keep an Institute of the kind employed in the best interests of the inhabitants of the cities and the country at large.

So there should be secured a fund large enough to give an income of at least \$100,000 a year—and bet-

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ter if \$150,000—to carry on the work of the Institute for Municipal Research. Of course, if any one man—and this would be the better way—would endow such an institution he could give it his own name, like the Brown Institute of Municipal Research; and I feel that whoever would endow such an Institute and give it his name would be building a monument as grand, if not grander than any that has yet been erected through any endowment. Scientific research is grand, and must be carried on. Educational matters are grand, and must be perpetuated, but an Institute that would attempt to bring about a better state of affairs in our cities comes home directly to the people at large.

Of course, when you have gotten your endowment, then would come perhaps the more difficult question of just the man to put at the head of the new Institute. Such a man should have the confidence of the people without regard to party; one of the grandest men in the country, for instance, who would be willing to devote the rest of his life to the solution of some of our very complicated and intricate social problems.

The Carnegie Institution at Washington, through its department of economics and sociology, will ultimately, should occasion still exist, take up some of the municipal problems that vex the country, but that institution would not devote itself and its income primarily and solely to such problems, for it must carry out its scientific investigations. Such work, therefore, would be incidental to its great work, but an Institute of Municipal Research would find ramification enough to make the organisation of such an Institute entirely legitimate, and I believe would be hailed by all parties without reference to political tendencies, certainly by all citizens who desire to see a change in municipal

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government. Such change could not be secured by the ordinary reform methods. Enthusiasm and rhetoric are not the things that are needed. Facts, through analysis and interpretation, are the evidence by which the people are to be instructed and the citizens supplied with information which will enable them to control their own governments; for no reform can come to our cities unless our citizens have the information on which to base their actions.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 21, 1906.

DEAR SIR—I have read the "Brief for the Establishment of an Institute for Municipal Research" and copy of Mr. Wright's letter to Mr. Cutting.

This is a matter that particularly interests me, as I feel it is in the direction of fundamental reform. During my official work in connection with the Tenement House Commission I became interested in the question of a municipal bureau of statistics. Later, through the efforts of a few, including Dr. Gould and President Low (as member of the Charter Commission), such a bureau was established, but it was not conducted in a way that brought success, being unsupported by the Tammany administration, and in the revision of the charter this bureau was omitted. Something of the sort has been established, but it is subsidiary and insufficient. Such a bureau, properly and intelligently conducted, would be of great service.

But a genuine bureau of municipal statistics, such as exists in some of the European cities, would not take the place of an Institute for Municipal Research such as you describe, and I think that the continuous work that would be done by such an Institute would help to improve conditions where improvement is greatly needed, namely, in our municipalities. As it is, here in

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New York not only are the higher authorities ignorant of the details of governmental service in the various departments, but the chiefs of the departments are ignorant of the details of their own departments. Our Tenement House Committee of 1899 were able to present to the park department a fuller map of city parks than the department itself possessed.

It will always be necessary to fight for good men in office and against those of low standards and dangerous practices, but we shall be more apt to make reform permanent by the scientific inquiry, scientific information, and scientific suggestion of such an Institute.

If an Institute like this were endowed it might be wise to arrange for a possible application of the funds to collateral purposes in case of such a change of conditions as would make this advisable.

XV

Efficiency in Making Bequests

At the time when a civilised world was trying to decide how it ought to give away the Sage millions, a man in the throes of making a will wrote,—“Will you please send me the names of the most worthy charities in New York City, including hospitals?” Shortly before a lawyer had inquired if a client’s property one hundred miles away could be used as a fresh air charity; a widow asked how \$100 could perpetuate her husband’s interest in worn-out tenement mothers; a lady how \$20,000—“a trusted servant’s savings”—could be invested in happiness and health for infants.

Have you ever tried to answer such questions? Have you computed the interest on \$50,000,000 or \$100,000,000 and worked out details of a plan for using it so as to help, not injure, its recipients? When you try to cure insomnia by imagining yourself under obligation to give away \$1,000 every morning, do you ever get beyond the tenth morning? Then you know how great is the need for testator’s handbooks and “Don’ts” and “First Helps” for will-makers. Volumes have been written to tell relief workers the danger of pauperising needy families, begging letter writers and street mendicants; not enough has been written to show the danger of pauperising the charity worker himself,

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or college president, hospital trustee, city board of aldermen, ladies' auxiliary of an orphan asylum or posterity.

To discourage any form of giving is resented alike by giver, recipient and bystander. Somehow it sounds officious, cold, heartless, selfish, opinionated. Heaven knows there is all too little giving in this world anyway. Who would not "rather give to 99 frauds than let one hungry man go unfed?" Does not the Lord love the cheerful giver? Many readers who have agreed with the appeal for efficiency in school and hospital will intuitively draw the line on applying any other test whatever but the heart test to bequests and memorial gifts. Realising fully the strength of such intuition, I shall approach the question as nearly as possible from the point of view of the giver who feels that his giving is his own affair. I have long thought this the best way to interest men and women in the ineffectiveness of street alms. Mendicancy cannot exist unless the mendicant is given that which harms and demoralises instead of that which cures and elevates. Mendicancy itself—individual and institutional—consists not in asking for aid on the street or off, but in begging when one does not need or when one does not intend or is unable to use aid for the purpose advertised. Generous-hearted givers persist in offering poison to sick men because their attention is focused on the giver or recipient, instead of on the gift itself and its history after leaving the giver.

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So with benefactors of institutions, we may safely assume that they do not want to increase the sum total of unhappiness in the world nor do they wish to place their money permanently at one per cent. interest if it can be placed at six, or to do less "good" than is possible when once they have selected their general line of benefaction. No mother wants to hurt orphans by her gift to an orphan asylum, or to abet neglect of unsanitary conditions by her hospital gifts. Even when testators give for the sake of the world's applause, they would undoubtedly prefer to avoid criticism for having perpetuated a fraud and thus having defeated their own purpose. The conditions that to-day hamper Girard College and prevent its leading in all educational work, prove that there is a technique of making gifts as well as of using them. The reader will be able to cite scores of instances which show that giving may be sadly inefficient. If it is to be efficient, it must be based upon desire to know, unit of inquiry, count, comparison, summary and the other ingredients of the statistical method.

An excellent illustration of the method that leads to efficient giving is the following: Four years ago a retired manufacturer asked the president of his state board of health what kind of help the very poor needed most. Numerous suggestions were made, including the need for leadership in a popular crusade against consumption. Without disclosing his own identity, the possible giver communicated for over one

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year with a physician thought to be eminently qualified to organise such a crusade. A hundred units of inquiry were found,—extent of the need, various methods of fighting tuberculosis, world evidence of successful treatment, a detailed plan of procedure with estimates as to expense of publication, laboratories, dispensaries, administration. Had a steel mill been involved instead of a health crusade, the procedure could not have been more efficient than that which gave the world the Phipps Institute for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

In May, 1906, Mr. Rockefeller sought from several social workers suggestions as to the use of certain vacant property overlooking the East River and adjoining the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Playgrounds were the first thought of several. Another mentioned three needs: (1) Farm gardens for crippled children, with shelters and river breezes on the bluff for those not able to move about; (2) Day nursery; (3) Out-of-door, fresh air camp for very sick "summer complaint" babies and their mothers. When asked, "Which will have the greatest educational results" he replied, "The camp demonstration that mothers can save their own babies in their own tenement homes if they will give them clean milk, clean air and clean bodies." An itemised estimate was required of cost, method of treating and teaching, and of results to be expected. Inside of six weeks Junior Sea Breeze was opened and throughout the summer led the



ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

JUNIOR SEA BREEZE

EFFICIENT GIVING

Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research is discovering new truth ; Junior Sea Breeze is placing that truth within the reach of tenement mothers. Who, whether speaking of the world-famed Institute or of the remodelled eighteenth-century mansion enlisted in the fight for clean milk, clean air and clean babies, can see a dividing line between charity and education ?



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fight against preventable infant mortality, giving 2,360 days' care to 204 babies, 14,000 days' entertainment and instruction to an average of 200 tenement mothers and children and suggestions for application elsewhere to 1,100 social workers, physicians, reporters, etc.

The widow who wanted to establish a \$100 memorial considered a score of means before finally purchasing two strong invalid rolling chairs. Forty mothers every summer will have ten days at the seashore, moving about among the hundreds of guests who are the living memorial of her husband's interest in Sea Breeze. Her method was as commendable as that of the two millionaires, not because she had a mite, but because she spent it efficiently.

Efficiency in will-making is obviously more difficult than efficiency in making ante-mortem gifts. It is conceivable for instance, that three wills drawn within the last four years made provision for a pioneer educational crusade against tuberculosis, for a pioneer babies' camp in the heart of New York's tenement district and for two rolling chairs for Sea Breeze. If so, the bequests when available would be duplicating effort already made and would in no case fulfil the purpose of the testator. Most wills involving large gifts for public purposes are made when the giver hopes, even if he does not expect, to live many years. Under these circumstances, an unelastic plan may, if executed, prove to be the maximum of inefficiency. Why,

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then, attempt to fit future resources to present needs? Is it not wiser to trust the spending of the legacy without condition to those whom the testator knows and likes? As in the case of street doles, the answer to these two questions depends upon what is done with the gift rather than upon the motive and the confidence of the giver or the goodness of the recipient. A few histories will show the importance of a testator's desiring to know what will in all probability be done with his bequest.

A banker had heard so much of the struggles and economies of a certain hospital from his family physician that he determined to leave it \$50,000 for a memorial wing. When the wing was finished it bore the tablet, In Memoriam Mrs. Grateful Patient, and added \$55,000 to the hospital's annual burden. No corresponding addition was made to the number of friends willing to support it. In fact, several large donations were reduced because it was imagined that the relatives of Mrs. Grateful Patient would give handsomely. The friend in need who had patiently met all former deficits announced that he could not carry the larger load, and after the first year would give \$2,000 and no more. There was nothing to do but to face about and solicit the public subsidy that it believed inimical to private hospitals. The contributing public gradually fell off, mistakenly believing that the city supported the hospital. For ten years every legacy received has gone to meet deficits;



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wards are repeatedly closed for months for lack of funds; to increase revenue, private patients are given all choice windows; a large floating debt is carried,—a veritable Minotaur ready to swallow the next legacy and the next forever. For fear of losing the subsidy, the hospital managers have declined to take any part in the fight against preventable disease.

A society once strong shows signs of age. Love of struggle has given way to love of ease. Work once fitted to a city's need is now calculated to perpetuate that need. Organised to relieve suffering, it lives to-day chiefly for itself. A large endowment makes it unnecessary to raise more than one-tenth of its support from the public. Two or three more large legacies will remove this necessity. The bequests come. Even income is assured. The work is now nobody's business but the board of managers, whose contempt for the community injures every other charitable society, inhibits the desire to give, and retards the development of constructive social enterprise.

A college was started to hold high the banner of Methodism in a western state. Inscriptions show that all of the money came from the east, where the president has spent most of his time. It is hardly worth while trying to get support from the western country which benefits from his college; why bother with hundred dollar gifts when some mourning parent in

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Springfield or Boston will give \$10,000 or more? The college has never acclimated itself. The western Methodists are pauperised and their children educated with equipment and educational talent inferior to that of the indigenous state university.

Each of the instances cited can be multiplied almost indefinitely. In each the *work* the testator wished to further has been injured by his gift. Instead of benefit, the three beneficiaries received respectively impoverishment, gout and pauperisation. In emphasising this fact, there is here no intention whatever to criticise the will-makers, but merely to point out that they did not get their money's worth. To pay out money or effort for certain disappointment is not efficient buying or efficient giving.

It is possible to increase efficiency without at all attempting to change the motives that seem most frequently to prompt bequests: (1) Desire to perpetuate interest in a particular work or a particular class of sufferer. (2) Desire to please a friend. (3) Desire to avoid post-mortem censure. (4) Desire to appear public spirited. (5) Desire to establish a memorial for a relative. (6) Desire to do the fair thing by a society that protected the testator and furnished opportunity for making his fortune. (7) Desire to help where suffering receives least attention. Whatever the motive, it is human, and if possible should be put to uses that will neither defeat the testator's purpose nor put obstacles in the way of human progress. A father who

wants to keep his fortune in the family ought to be able to draw a will so that the family will not promptly divest itself of that fortune; a mother who loves her son so dearly she cannot disinherit him, ought to be able to avoid encouraging him to disinherit and outlaw himself. Even though a testator's gift is sure to miss the centre of the target aimed at, he will, as a rule, enjoy placing that target with reference to his own eye and to his own rifle.

The desire to perpetuate one's regular donation is presumably based upon the motives that prompted the gift during life. A merchant in the habit of giving \$500 annually to a trade school wishes to make his personal interest perpetual by leaving it \$12,500. Unless he has reason to fear that tendencies are at work which in time will make the school such as he would not wish to support, his plan is in the direction of efficiency. If, however, his \$12,500 is fed the first year to Deficit, his giving is proved to be inefficient in so far as it failed to insure the perpetual life of the bequest.

To give money to please a friend is one's privilege just as it is legitimate to spend one's own money to buy public applause, to silence censure or extol a family name. If the amount of the gift is small, the possible evil that might result from inefficient giving will be so small as to be ignored. But if the amount is large enough to change the current of the beneficiary's life most testators would prefer to give in a way that

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will in all likelihood increase, not decrease, the beneficiary's welfare.

The immediate possibilities can be discovered from the practice of the agency one aims to help. If its current receipts are regularly below its current expenses, there is every reason to believe that a legacy will be used all at once or gradually to meet the deficit, unless the interest on the bequest is sufficient to fill in the gap. If deficits are the exception rather than the rule, it is important to learn how former legacies were used; whether for sumptuous offices, for much-needed additions to equipment, for improvements in standards of service, for experiments of vast consequence or merely for piling up a sterile surplus. Future legacies, imposing no obligation whatever on the recipient, will probably be treated like the unrestricted legacies of the past. If the efficient will-maker decides that he prefers to share for all time in a society's work, he may condition the gift, *i. e.*, principal to remain intact, interest only to be used. This often acts like a total abstinence pledge, a reminder in time of weakness of one's best intention when not under temptation. The efficient giver will impose no condition on the use of the interest beyond possibly a period of five or twenty-five years, during which he may reasonably expect that conditions will not have so changed as to make the stipulated work unnecessary. No efficient giver will subsidise a demand for distress, putting bounties on wolf scalps when all wolves have been extermin-

inated except those specially reared to earn the bounty.

Feeling that most testators have in mind to perpetuate their co-operation, some societies provide in by-laws that all legacies, even when unrestricted, shall be placed at once in a Reserve or Endowment Fund. Sometimes, an unrestricted legacy becomes a restricted legacy by act of the beneficiary society, *e. g.*, the James C. Carter Fund, the interest to be used in promoting some distinctively civic effort, such as proper administration of public baths or adequate milk inspection. The floating or unrestricted Fund known as Endowment or Reserve, made up of legacies or fragments of legacies received during twenty or fifty years, is safer when reserved for emergencies only, and protected by by-law as well as by tradition against hasty action. If a month's notice is required to draw upon the Reserve Fund, those who oppose this policy and perhaps those who favour it will often find some other means of meeting what may at first thought seem an emergency. If after due consideration there still exists an emergency or an exceptional opportunity to invest the legacy in the kind of happiness the testator wanted his gift to provide, many societies use the Reserve. Relief societies, for example, often believe that their deceased benefactors would not wish them to refuse relief to those in urgent need so long as there is one dollar of the unconditioned legacies left. Many hospitals would feel it an affront to the memory of

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their benefactors to put surplus revenue in the bank instead of into the fight against conditions that cause sickness and deplete vitality.

Conditioned or restricted legacies are in disfavour with many trustees. To them it seems inconsistent to be interested enough in a college to leave it \$250,000 and at the same time to distrust its ability to spend the money when and where it is most needed. But it just happens that large gifts are quite as apt to be due to regard for the college name or its past management as for its present directors. It is definite tradition, not an uncertain future, that the alumnus wishes to endow. He entrusts interest only, restricting and perpetuating the principal not because he lacks confidence in trustees, but because he would rather give a 99 lease than a quit-claim deed. The injunction,—“Do not look a gift horse in the mouth” does not apply to givers.

It is quite conceivable that a man should consistently support a certain society while regretting certain characteristics that seemed to him to be imperfections. There are obvious reasons why one not directly charged with responsibility should not wish to condition an annual contribution or in any way to reflect on management that seems to please others. Many of us subscribe to a magazine we don't want to buy outright and trust a broker to buy stock selected by us when we would not trust him to select the stock itself. Opposed as they are to gifts with a string tied to them,

trustees generally manage to be sincerely grateful for annuities. But they respectfully petition you not to tie the annuity to any purpose that is not capable of redefinition as time may change needs and resources for meeting needs. A serviceable qualifying clause would be,—“Whenever the need herein provided for shall have disappeared, or when responsibility for meeting it may be placed upon some other agency better equipped to meet it, the annuity may be used for educational purposes in connection with the work conducted at the time by the beneficiary.”

Because true affection for a society's name and work accounts for most bequests for public purposes, testators will continue to leave the spending of both interest and principal to the beneficiary's judgment. Men and women, who have themselves as trustees suffered the torments of uncertain income, will continue to feel that they qualify their generosity by restricting a legacy,—too much like inviting a private detective to oversee a lunch party. Such loyal friends may safeguard their legacy and the traditions they love against the aggressive minority known to be on every board by asking that for 10, 25, or 50 years the disposition of the capital be explained to friends of the society in successive annual reports. For example:

C. C. Smith Memorial Fund,—\$50,000—1885; Intact. Interest used for five Smith Fellowships.

Mary J. Walker Legacy,—\$152,500—1903; \$100,000 remaining in General Endowment.

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\$50,000 consumed in spreading broadcast the knowledge that bone tuberculosis is due to consumption; that it should be prevented; that it can be cured by out-of-door salt-air treatment. Fund of \$250,000 raised for the first American Hospital presented to New York City in 1907.

William Anderson Legacy,—\$75,000; consumed for office building, 1903, that produces no revenue.

Helen Pullman Legacy,—\$300,000, consumed for office building, 1903.

Legacies A-M. aggregating \$37,800, consumed to meet annual deficits.

Legacies N-V.—\$50,000, used for dressing room, more suitable for a Roman bath than for surgical work.

James Read Legacy,—\$1,000—used for portrait of giver.

In Memoriam N. D.,—\$100,000—Half consumed to erect laboratory; \$50,000 invested; interest used in publishing facts as to preventable infant mortality.

Entirely apart from the moral support such a restriction would give the trustees in time of need, the publication of an account of stewardship would stimulate friends to make bequests that might be used in similar imaginative, helpful ways. One such restriction would compel a policy of complete frankness between boards of managers and solicited prospective will-makers.

When one has not yet made up his mind just what societies to help, there is a smoother road to efficiency

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in will-making. There are fewer prejudices to remove and no personal reasons for making the efficiency test seem out of place. Then most men will be grateful for fair answers to the one definite question in their minds,—“What are the worthy charities?” Unless they break that question up into parts, or unless their lawyer or consulting social expert “factors” this question, the Goodness Fallacy and Inefficiency will make most wills and start more soup kitchens or bread lines, where the maker of a will hoped to encourage industry. There is an ever-increasing class of men and women able to make large bequests, and willing to make them if shown how. Many of them, accustomed to apply the effectiveness test to investments during life, have come to believe sincerely with Professor Summer that “the next most pernicious thing to vice is charity in its broad sense.” They distrust emotional appeals. They wish to picture to themselves the probable results of their giving, and may be pardoned for preferring something distinctive, expressive of their personality, at least assurance that their message shall not be misinterpreted and no business principle violated. They have a right to expect that societies seeking their co-operation will welcome businesslike questions necessary to insure efficiency in giving. More givers of this class would undoubtedly be found if societies would anticipate questions, forecast the needs in their own fields and persistently offer opportunity to buyers.

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What does a business man mean by "worthy charity?" Among other things he means worth while, not superfluous, well managed, efficient, an investment that pays no less than the current rate of dividend with an occasional special dividend. Besides practice with regard to endowment, he desires to know—although he may not be familiar enough with details to formulate questions—the extent to which a charity recognises the partnership of its contributors and the public, whether it studies and learns from its own experience, whether it gladly modifies its policy and technique to fit changing needs, what portion of the community's work it does, if it could easily be spared, its relative efficiency as compared with other charities doing similar work, what needs its plans for the future disclose. To answer these questions requires study, it is true. Here is a place for the business doctor or for the prospective giver or his lawyer to turn diagnostician. It rests with societies that pray for bequests to accustom will-makers to demand statements of fact, rather than expressions of personal preference, from those asked for advice. What graft is more reprehensible than that of educational and other benevolent agencies which use a lawyer's influence rather than his intelligence or their own facts to get bequests?

In default of reports and diagnosticians, the following suggestions may be of service in making wills for amounts small or large:

1. Unless one cares—can give himself with his gift

—leave it to the public treasury where it will probably do less harm than if left to a charity.

2. If one cares, let him make sure that his gift will relieve, not increase a burden. Do not give an elephant to a peasant.
 3. Avoid any inelastic condition.
 4. If temporary restrictions are to be imposed, give to the least popular or less popular rather than the most popular aspect of the beneficiaries' work. A relief society needs its need for coal quite as much as the coal; to relieve it of the appealing power that grows out of this need may reduce its total contributions by many times the value of the coal.
 5. To specify that a legacy or its income shall not be used for salaries or other expenses of management may invite waste and inefficiency. It requires money to spend money efficiently.
 6. To give specifically for salaries and management will often convert an inefficient into an efficient society, and enable it to increase the community's interest in its work. Many societies fail for want of a hearing.
 7. Accompany unrestricted legacies by a request for an annual accounting for principal, through the first 10, 25 or 50 years.
 8. No society should be encouraged to pile up a surplus.
 9. The presumption is strongly in favour of a society's dependence upon the public for the major portion of its support.
 10. Endowed brains can adapt themselves to changing needs; brick and mortar cannot.
- Illustrative of alternatives to be considered by men

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wishing to invest in human happiness is the following argument for spending \$20,000 on facts regarding the enforcement of the tenement house law rather than a million on model tenements:

June 16th, 1906.

DEAR SIR—You expressed interest in our babies' camp in the heart of the city that will try to prove to tenement mothers that they can do much to save their own babies, can sterilise their own bottles, food receptacles and clothes, and of themselves bring fresh air and cleanliness into their homes. You endorse, secondly, our grafting this program upon a rickety old mansion to emphasise the strong presumption that no floors and walls are too old to be cleansed, no house too old to be properly ventilated and freed from vermin,—that existing facilities can be utilised to increase human happiness and save human life.

In approaching my suggestion to apply the same principle to inherited civic and political institutions and agencies will you make with me four assumptions:

1. That the A. I. C. P. present to you reports on four phases of the tenement problem.
2. That on the merits of the case presented you invest \$1,000,000 in new tenements in the city; \$1,000,000 in new tenements in districts not yet built up; \$1,000,000 in old tenements to be remodelled; \$1,000,000 in guaranteeing three or five year leases of old tenements.
3. That directly in these ways you could give new homes in the city to from 400 to 700 families, new homes in unbuilt districts to from 400 to 700 families, homes in remodelled old houses owned by you to from 600 to 900 families, and

improved administration of leased old houses to from 5,000 to 7,000 families.

4. That each investment pays 4% net on your money and that results surpass all expectations so far as families directly involved are concerned.

You would then have invested \$4,000,000 and have reached directly from 6,000 to 8,000 different tenants, from 1½% to 2% of the total tenement population. Your new construction would represent about 10% of the average yearly new construction. How will you get to the 98% of the tenement population not directly involved in your enterprises the benefits of your investment?

Will you not find yourself in the position of having a vast amount of material valuable alike to tenant, landlord and taxpayer, which material without a distinct militant, educational program, takes its chance of being unused or sporadically used, often misrepresented by the press and superficial students. Without this aggressive, educational program your efforts would soon be concentrated upon administration rather than upon sanitation and tenement reform, for these depend rather upon *social bookkeeping* than *model building*. At least such has been the history of model tenements, whether private or municipal, in every section of the world. Just as soon as new ideas and standards of construction become established, the sometime model of brick and mortar becomes a back number, an obstacle instead of an aid to progress.

I realise the sweeping character of the statement that there is not in existence to-day a block of model tenements whose owners are conducting a sustained, educational campaign in behalf of better tenements for the entire community of which they are but a very

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small part. An eminent sanitarian, medical officer of a large British city, told me in 1899,—“This city as *landlord* is to-day erecting model tenements which its council as *sanitarian* should ten years from now condemn as public nuisances.” When the A. I. C. P. brought about the establishment of the City and Suburban Homes Company it relaxed efforts to secure tenement reform. It was not the City and Suburban Homes Company that brought to a head New York’s tenement house legislation and the tenement house department; on the contrary it was a group of men who spent time and money in producing and publishing intelligence. For want of adequate expenditure of time and money on ascertaining and publishing the truth regarding the present enforcement of the tenement house law, tens of thousands of violations are being disregarded with impunity, the enforcement of the law has grown weaker instead of stronger, and the public is relying upon a security that is too largely fictitious.

Models within four walls cannot adapt themselves quickly to new discoveries and new social conditions; ideas and standards will grow if given a chance and will carry the public with them. Why assume the load of remodelling and constructing when this can be placed upon other shoulders by proper educational work?

An efficient educator could utilise the wealth of information now possessed by the tenement house department and could ascertain facts from charitable agents familiar with tenement conditions, as well as from properly directed investigators. A sum expended to publish facts regarding failure to enforce even the minimum provisions of the tenement house law, and

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failure to educate the public as to the needs made obvious since the tenement house department was established, would accomplish more in the way of educating landlord, tenant, city official, philanthropists and other communities than a hundred times the same amount of money spent in a model tenement scheme alone. All of these classes desire information; all will use it if they are shown how. If they will not use it we have at once revealed the need for funds such as it is proposed to put into construction or re-modelling. In the absence of such information and in the light of any investigation that we have at present, it is the merest guess work to attempt to do the right thing in the matter of tenement reform.

The strongest argument against municipal or state socialism is not that it restricts the freedom of the individual but that it hampers the municipality or the state, making it reactionary at the very time it should become progressive. I believe you will agree that at the present time, toward correcting the evils of ignorance, bad business judgment and disregard of the rights of tenants to safe and decent surroundings, the facts learned by one efficient tenement-house inspector, properly used, would surely accomplish more than a block of model tenements. To define the limits within which the individual may operate so as to help not injure his fellow-man is in itself socialistic, but is it not the only alternative to the state and municipal socialism now making such tremendous headway *because both friend and opponent are compelled to work inefficiently without facts?*

No one questions the wisdom of backing up the definitions of the tenement house law by an annual expenditure of \$800,000 or \$1,000,000, yet we have the

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anomalous situation where the community is not spending one dollar to find out whether the \$800,000 is giving the result desired. We spend \$30,000,000 a year on "universal education." This means from \$350 to \$500 per school child during the years from seven to 14. From the years 14 to 70 "universal education" is left to chance, sensationalism and methods antagonistic to or incompatible with true education. Generally speaking there is not at present any large agency that will show those between 14 and 70 how to form an intelligent judgment regarding social and civic problems.

Efficient citizenship, which is after all what college presidents and editors mean when they talk of *good* citizenship, is not possible without more information than we have to-day. . . .

The foregoing letter led to a request for an itemised plan, which is here submitted:

July 10, 1906.

How interest on \$1,000,000 could be used for an extensive, scientific investigation of the tenement house problem,—

SALARIES

Investigator in Charge.....	\$5,000	
Office Assistant.....	2,000	
One Correspondent.....	1,500	
Expert on Tenement Construction.....	3,500	
Field Secretary.....	3,000	
Ten Inspectors.....	10,000	
Stenographers and Clerical Help.....	6,000	
		\$31,000
Rent		1,500

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OFFICE FURNITURE

Fifteen Desks.....	\$600	
Rugs and Fittings.....	900	
Six Typewriters.....	600	
Filing Cards.....	500	
Files	600	
		2,500

MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES

Postage and Stationery.....	\$1,250	
Carfares	750	
Railroad Fare, etc.....	1,000	
Unclassified Expenses.....	2,000	
		5,000
Grand Total.....		\$40,000

Should the fund yield \$45,000 instead of \$40,000, the balance could be well used, some of it to remunerate consultants for studying and advising with the regular staff, or perhaps to organise conferences, interest the press, add one or two inspectors or one or two statistical assistants.

The above estimates should be regarded as but approximations, based upon the experience of Mr. Tucker and myself with this Association, and with the more superficial investigations that in the past have been possible. It is more than likely that a man capable of organising the inquiry would wish three months, or six, for preparation, thus reducing the first year's estimate. He might also wish to distribute differently the sums available. The salary estimates for stenographers, etc., are liberal, it being assumed throughout that efficient service is more economical at a high salary than inefficient service at a low salary.

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One item, Field Secretary, I hope will appeal to you. Almost every city in the country is interested in New York experience. At the present time an inquiring student or officer in the west, or south or northwest, can address no one who has the time or the knowledge to find out by correspondence or interview exactly what particular problems must be solved in the community concerned. A letter is written to the A. I. C. P., C. O. S. or to the tenement house department and a more or less sympathetic answer is sent, stating that if Chicago people wish to acquaint themselves with housing reform they may consult certain well-known reference books. Our idea in suggesting a high-grade correspondent and field secretary, is to emphasise the missionary possibility of a New York office able to give the time and money necessary to help intelligently other communities that wish to prevent a repetition of New York evils. We can easily imagine that in the course of the second or third or the fifth year it would seem worth while to increase the allowance for the field secretary, even at the expense of New York inspectors. It should be possible to secure from other communities a considerable portion of the travelling expense of a field secretary.

This man, like the investigator in charge, his assistant and the correspondent—why not inspectors as well?—should be, and can be, *primarily educators*, able to marshal information in an interesting and convincing way.

The inquiry itself would probably begin with a close study of tenement house statistics, methods of administration, etc., to learn how far their records answer questions as to enforcement of the present law, its defects, relation of rent to standard of living, sickness in

Large Giving Seeks Opportunities 325

the tenements, development of less congested districts. By the time a site was selected for investment of a million dollars in model domiciles and buildings ready for occupancy, the investigator and staff would be in possession of more knowledge regarding tenement needs than is now possessed by any body of men or by any library.

Will you permit me to add that exactly the same need exists and exactly the same kind of work could be organised, and should be organised, to learn the facts and to publish the facts regarding: The making of budgets for city departments; health administration, death rate and vitality rate in different districts; the charities department; children's court; probation and county jail evils; inspection of milk and other foods sold in the tenements; inefficiency of the state health and dairy commissions; physical condition of school children; effect of school curriculum on industrial efficiency; character of accounts and reports of both public and private institutions appealing to the public for support.

The large giving of recent years has sought educational opportunities. If the Carnegie libraries seem an exception, it must be remembered that each library is given on condition that the beneficiary shall give assurance that books will be forever accessible. Our universities and colleges have added to equipment and endowment by leaps and bounds. In this prosperity charitable agencies have not participated largely, owing to the double conviction that the most efficient giving is for education and that charitable work and education are mutually exclusive. Just as the term

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statistician came to be applied to the clerk who added instead of to the man that questioned, so we have a tendency to use *education* and *educational institution* synonymously. An agency that is not called a school, college or university is not considered educational. The man who teaches outside of school walls is not an educator. From this confusion of purpose with means it happens that the teaching done by charitable and religious organisations is not properly recognised as education. The new interest awakened by their teaching redounds to the financial benefit of schools and colleges.

As a matter of fact, much work done by colleges and schools is not educational. The best work done by hospitals and charities is educational. The charity budget of educational institutions, such as Harvard and Yale for men and Vassar and Smith for women, is larger every year than that of any individual relief society in New York City. The student whose wealthy father pays \$150 for instruction that costs \$500 is no less an object of charity than is the poor mother who receives \$2 in a relief bureau for making a garment worth only \$1. The woman who does that sewing is taking part in an educational process just as truly as is the college student. There is a vast amount of research that does not find out anything. Much work that cures is preventive. Much so-called preventive work neither prevents nor cures. The times call for endowments not of things and names of things,

whether charity, hospital or college, but of truth. Whatever its name, no endowment can be truly educational that does not perpetually facilitate the application of truth to man's environment, in order that this shall be better to-morrow than to-day, and that obstacles to human happiness progressively decrease and opportunity for development toward happiness progressively increase. It rests with the individual giver whether or not his bequest shall educate for all time.

A great service would be rendered if some philanthropist should offer prizes for suggestions to will-makers that would crystallise our best analysis of past experience. These prizes should be large enough to entice the most capable students, and numerous enough to interest every city and every state. At least one prize should go to each state for a plan best fitted to local and state needs. Two or three or five general prizes might be given for papers superior in principle and in technique of presentation. Thus local needs, state needs and national needs would be under observation and criticism, and we would not be so unprepared to dispose efficiently of large and small endowments as we seem to be at present.

XVI

A Chapter of False Syntax

Academic: Irresponsible; picked up in college; visionary; born of other men's ideas, not of conditions. Often used for what one does not yet understand, or for principles too difficult to understand. Too indiscriminate a word for every-day use.

Administration: Management; bossing. The administrative head of an office,—the one who puts together in one combination water and coal and matches and engine so as to make the whole thing go; the one finally to blame for mistakes made.

Asset and Liability Accounting: Quite as necessary for government and philanthropy as for private business. A school board should know what its property is worth, where located and how soon it need be replaced. It should know of books, supplies, and cash on hand. It should also know what it owes. When a site is contracted for, its price should be entered against the site fund, showing clearly the available balance. Annual reports should tell stockholders—supporters—not only the balance as a whole, but for each separate

fund, *i. e.*,—what sums they could realise net after paying all obligations, what remains in each fund for the next year's work.

Attack on Character: naked folly; premium on materialism; disregard for ethics and virtue. So a southern editor describes the chapter on The Goodness Fallacy. He then asks virtuously if badness should be regarded as the chief qualification of a pastor. Instead of underestimating goodness, the efficiency test recognises that goodness is everywhere, showered like Heaven's rain and like eyes and hair and teeth, on the fit and the unfit, on the efficient and the inefficient. *Goodness* refers no more to the fitness of a pastor than the term *poor* applied to imitation means that the poor imitation is without a bank balance. On this account and not because it has no intrinsic value, goodness of itself is an untrustworthy guide in choosing a pastor, a cook or a president. Efficiency tests, by adjusting burden to capacity, utilise character to its utmost. Goodness tests waste character and energy by asking or allowing goodness to undertake work for which it is not prepared.

Audit should be by some one outside the board that is rendering an account of stewardship. Audit of cash transactions helps little, for dishonesty is not frequent enough or simple enough to be thus detected. Audit of cost incurred, of administrative

results and of methods employed can be of great service if made by an efficient business doctor.

Average: To be inspected before using. Prolific source of mis-education. Average income nobody ever has; average man nobody ever sees; average price nobody ever pays. Generally a more serviceable unit can be found. Average is helpful when it means "safe to count on." If a longshoreman earns \$2 a day for 200 days, and finds \$10 on each of 10 days, he may not safely plan his expenses at \$2.30 a day, but will, if wise, keep down to \$2 a day. If the average income of a town of 501 men is made up of the wages of 500 men, \$1,000 a day, plus the profits of one man, \$500 a day, the 500 may not count on the average return of \$2.99 a day each. "Average from 20 to 30" is frequently used when the observer can count on at least 20 and frequently sees 30. "Strike an average," "get an average," etc., should be avoided beyond the point where analysis of experience shows what in all likelihood will happen; what may be counted upon if conditions do not change. Character as an average of a man's action refers to his probable performance under given conditions, i. e., will not think of stealing if cash register and audit are efficient; will not swear in the presence of ladies; is generous with that portion of income above \$10,000 a year.

Bibliography: (1) A double entry, loose sheet, cumulative ledger, the left column noting things you desire to know about your efficiency as trustee, official or citizen, and a column at the right to give answers to questions. (2) Classified press items and newspaper articles pertaining to efficiency or inefficiency of officials during the probationary period necessary to acquire habits of classifying impressions. (3) Public reports of activities regarding which you express opinion. (4) Bulletins of permanent census bureau. (5) Annual messages of President Roosevelt (1906) and Governor Hughes (1907); studies in interpretation of official responsibility. (6) *Charities and Commons* (New York). (7) *System* (New York). (8) *National Hospital Record* (Detroit). (9) School Administration Studies by Teachers College (New York). (10) *Proceedings*, State and National Conferences,—National Municipal League; Massachusetts State Civic League; Charities and Correction; National Education Association; American Bankers' Association. (11) Keep Commission's reports on business methods used by the national government. (12) Finance Commission's (appointed by Mayor McClellan, New York City) report on right principles of taxation, on methods of taxation employed by New York City, and on accounting methods. (13) School Statistics

Urged by National Educators (*School Review*, Volume 13, Halle D. Woods). (14) Serviceable Books: *Vital Statistics*, Newsholme; *Darwinism and Politics*, Ritchie; *Physics and Politics*, Bagehot; *Ethical Gains Through Legislation*, Kelley; *Bitter Cry of the Children*, Spargo; *Principles of Relief*, Devine; *A Ten Years' War* (against the slum) Riis; *Applied Sociology*, Ward.

Cash Accounting shows cash transactions only. Generally misrepresents work done because it fails to include goods used but not paid for, while not infrequently including goods used last year but paid for this year, or goods carried forward from the preceding year. Extreme illustration; the overseers of the richest suburb of New York City report,—“We have saved a great deal this year by eating the cows off the farm instead of buying meat.” Again, the treasurer of a religious organisation reports a cash balance of \$275, and receives congratulations for her management; later a cost accounting discloses \$10,000 debts unpaid.

Character: A personality tablet; a composite picture of what is most apt to happen when others come in contact with us. Character is not synonymous with virtue, but refers to objective acts likely to be performed. When the cook requests a character, she wants her mistress to say

not that she is a virtuous, law-abiding, truthful woman, who stays home nights, but that she is a first-class cook, who does not become periodically incapacitated by fits of temper or by that species of alcoholism which the craft euphoniously calls indigestion. Persons of equal and similar subjective virtues may have characters widely different in capacity and trustworthiness.

Census: A count of units; earlier a count of population taken by the national government in years divisible by 10; certain additional counts are taken by several states in years divisible by 5, thus giving two counts every decade; count of school population, annual in some states, bien-nial in others, never in the majority. Permanent national census bureau will demonstrate the economy and superiority of permanent state bu-reaus and permanent registration of children of school age. Census light is cheaper and more luminous, if constant.

Charity: What a man gets when he swears off his taxes below his share; the difference between tuition at college and actual cost of tuition to the community; the doles exacted by employers who require overtime without pay. Inappro-priately applied to aid given to so-called poor. Originally broad enough to include a feeling that events often compel the poor to have toward the rich.

City Record of New York City; ideal of "minutiae publicity"; sure haystack for official needles. If efficiently edited a City Record would be of inestimable value.

Conservative: A shut sesame, awe-fully pronounced to prevent candid analysis of past experience. Should frighten no one and allure no one. The conservative of yesterday becomes to-morrow's reactionary unless willing to be radical to-day. Nothing can be more radical in the destructive sense than to hold to theories or practices that tests have proved inefficient.

Control by knowledge of what is happening is the only control possible where opportunities for errors are numerous. An officer, attempting to exercise control by perfunctorily reviewing the work of twenty others, protested that it was not fair to hold him responsible unless he "could keep his hands on the work." He was told, "You cannot keep your hands on unless you take them off." Thenceforth control was exercised by studying summaries that showed results, instead of innumerable details that showed nothing.

Cost Accounting shows goods and service used during the year reported, no matter when paid for. Contributions in kind should be included, also rebates, accounts unpaid, depreciation in value of plant, taxes unpaid. In learning the cost to the community of charitable and religious work,

taxes remitted should be computed. If cost accounts compare, subtract, reduce to percentages, classify and summarise, they and they alone disclose economy, extravagance, efficiency and inefficiency.

Crime: Putting a letter in the toe of a slipper sent through the Christmas mail as merchandise; tipping a building inspector to pass on to the next house; making false entries on trust books; rebating; stealing bread. Complete statistics of crime would enumerate all criminal acts committed. Our present unreliable statistics of crime are sometimes of acts detected, sometimes of persons convicted, but generally of sentences served.

Deficit: From the words *de*, meaning subtraction, and *facio*, meaning to work. *De—ficit*, work not done. Popularly applied to bills not paid. In social work should be returned to its original meaning to define the gap between what might have been done or what ought to have been done and what was actually done.

Director: In an orchestra one who directs; in high finance apparently one who is directed; in philanthropy often just a member of a board. Always and everywhere one who should make liberal use of efficiency tests.

Directory of Directors of civic and charitable societies needed. In most cities would show a few men on board after board, a "breeding in" proc-

ess that is no safer in philanthropy than in horticulture. If urged that this repeating broadens the directors in their sympathy, it may be replied that it also narrows the community in its effort. The greater the repeating, the more necessary to director and contributor are result tests in black and white.

Displacement: A term used to show how much water a boat drives out of place. An empty boat may have the displacement of five tons; when filled with coal, it may have a displacement of two thousand tons. Individuals have displacement, representing the amount of space or the amount of attention that must be reserved by others when their personality enters a group. A man's displacement (to paraphrase Brander Matthews) depends upon his talent, his character, and his technique. The only one of the three that he is able to change quickly by intelligent work is technique. Other men help him when they measure him by efficiency tests.

Evolutionary: Doing in Rome as the Romans do. Sometimes up and sometimes down; sometimes toward efficiency and sometimes toward inefficiency. Special service to the average man is justifying conviction that heaven has not condemned him to stand still, and that it pays to analyse both himself and Rome. Man's kind of evolution may be made more efficient than na-

ture's because more direct and less wasteful. (See *Darwinism and Politics*, Ritchie.)

Flexible Grading fits curriculum to child instead of sacrificing child to curriculum; keeps every child at its maximum speed in each subject; increases competition by putting pupils with their peers instead of "binding together in lockstep" the very bright, the very dull and the shades between. Certain advocates are delaying the adoption of flexible grading by decrying classification and statistics. Flexible grading will fail utterly unless it uses statistics and classification more constantly and more intelligently than inflexible grading ever used them. There is no essential school fact now brought out by advanced students that school records themselves could not have revealed twenty-five years ago.

Gambling: Letting well enough alone; believing that "all will turn out well" because "every year shows some progress."

Golden Rule: Imposes a great obligation that, in these days of complex relations to our neighbour, requires the statistical method. Passive, negative goodness is insufficient to discover others' need and others' relation to us.

G. P.: Grateful Patient. Source of unendowed memorial wards and buildings. Title not yet disassociated from a family physician's personal influence enviously called "pull" by profes-

sional colleagues. Authorises giver to tax other men to keep the memorial wreath green in perpetuity. It prohibits elasticity and adaptation of hospital and school management to conditions unforeseen by the giver. G. P. can be made an enviable title if knowledge of a community's needs is made as universal as that of the three r's.

Horizontal Cut: A method borrowed by finance officers from ice-cream venders; up and down cut without regard to thickness of layers, taking off twice as much chocolate as vanilla, or relatively twice as much from one department as from another, thus slashing into necessities and economies as well as into waste.

Idiosyncrasy: One hospital president's characterisation of the public's failure to support hospital work.

Keep Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt, Honourable C. H. Keep, chairman, has made valuable recommendations as to reducing the complexity, clerical labour and waste involved in government work. A valuable supplement to the Commission is a voluntary association, just formed, of government employees, whose purpose is to hasten the introduction of efficiency tests into government service.

Lawyer Fallacy: That lawyers make efficient law makers; that a knowledge of law requisite for admission to the bar, or for successful evasion of

law, qualifies a man to see what laws are needed by the community and how they should be worded, and how enforced for the general welfare.

Man of Affairs Fallacy: That success in massing a fortune or in conducting a business enterprise fits a man to legislate or administer for other men's business or for public protection against his own business.

Motives are hidden from mortal view. Acts we can see, count, record, value. Seldom are anti-social deeds committed in the rays of a searchlight. Bad motives do not disqualify a man who is under constant supervision any more than stammering disqualifies a copyist, lameness a desk clerk, or predisposition to alcoholism a man in a country where no alcohol exists. Efficiency tests that apply constant supervision gradually strengthen the weak and change anti-social (bad) motives into social (good) motives.

Municipal Journal: An attractive opportunity for philanthropy. Education, not trade, should be its first aim; should have at least \$20,000 per year; results would justify \$50,000; would be welcomed by public officers throughout the country. Influence once established, advertising would decrease annual expense or provide funds for expansion of educational work. A brilliant illustration is offered by London's *Municipal Journal*.

Municipal Program: An idea and a book, both emanating from the National Municipal League. A suggestive and helpful composite of the best thought of the foremost students of administration in America as to municipal charters, division of responsibility, home rule, taxation, uniformity of accounting. Emphatically endorses Boston's idea of "minutiæ reporting." Fails to recognise the importance of a clearing house of operative facts as a basis of budget making. Accepts New York's idea of "minutiæ reporting" by the comptroller, that covers up a multitude of sins, extravagances and extravaganzas. "This is crazy finance. It would bankrupt any concern that did not have unlimited resources behind them." (N. Y. Times, January 8, 1907).

People's Lobby: A recent flurry in fact market characterised by "selling short"; panic will ensue unless People's Investigation is brought in to support the market. Heartily approved by President Roosevelt. Is led by eminent journalists and educators. Headquarters, Washington. Principle of watching and reporting legislation should be extended to states and cities.

Presumption in favour of: Weather vane; points in the direction of; judging from experience should happen. To establish a presumption is to find out what experience teaches is likely to happen. New conditions may change the vane. The pre-

sumption lodges a burden of proof. If the per capita cost of this month is higher than last there is presumption of extravagance; facts may remove the presumption; guesses should never be permitted to remove a presumption.

Preventive Medicine should be taught at Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Rush and other great medical schools, and endowed. No man should be licensed to practise medicine until he can earn a grade of 95 in state medicine, in public health, in sanitary administration and in vital statistics.

Proficient: Advanced in acquirement. *Efficient*: Having all energy or power requisite.

Promotion by Subject: Two years ago the hobby of Charles S. Hartwell, Brooklyn Teachers' Association. To-day the sign of progressiveness in high schools but still a stranger to lower grades. Mr. Hartwell was prompted to his crusade by a class of 30 in English, 18 of whom were taking the subject a second time, although they had passed creditably the first time; they had failed in German or history or mathematics. This waste of time of teacher and pupil, that drives many pupils from high school who are among the most fit to survive, is called "pedagogically immoral," "threshing out old straw," "grinding sharp saws." For statistics as to promotion by subject address Charles S. Hartwell, 473 Madison Street, Brooklyn.

Public Accountant: An itinerant bookkeeper who sells his time to tell whether or not a stationary bookkeeper's addition and classification are correct or incorrect. Here and there, one who scorns statistics and the statistical method, professes to be thoroughly practical and refuses to apply any theory to his business. An itinerant bookkeeper who had the good fortune to be called a bookkeeper at the time a state examination for accountancy was ordered, or who later demonstrated in examination that he was able to post books and add columns correctly, is permitted to call himself C. P. A., Certified Public Accountant. In engaging a C. P. A., try to find one who does not deplore the tendency to substitute the statesmanship of statistics for detective skill; and avoid those willing (if the fee justifies) to prove that current expenditures are capital investments.

Red Tape: Sometimes unreasonable attention to prescribed rule; sometimes colour blindness or a kind of cataract resulting in confusion of tape, that marks the shortest difference between need and relief, with tape unravelled by offensive or indifferent officials. Too indiscriminate a word for every-day use.

Religion: Perception of other's rights as the measure of our responsibility. "Love thy neighbour as thyself" cannot be practised without efficiency

tests for religious living, for government and for citizenship.

Review of Charities and Correction, of education, of hospital and social work needed in every state and in every large city. From 40 to 60 agencies are frequently represented in one issue of the *New Jersey Review*. The state press quotes liberally. *Charities and The Commons* is somewhat like college athletics, confined to teams; some provision should be made to reach the rank and file; \$5,000 a year would bring good results in New York City. Journals are numerous whose business it is to educate the profession; journals are needed to educate the non-professional, the parent, the taxpayer, the not-yet official.

Rights: Most of the rights we call inalienable are political rights, seldom associated with every-day comforts, necessities and pleasures. How can a child who talks through his nose be enthusiastic over the right of free speech? Of what good is freedom of the press to those for whom reading is harder than sweatshop toil? How futile the right to trial by jury, if physical defects make a child unable to do what the law expects! Who would not exchange right of petition for ability to earn a living? Children permanently condemned by removable defects to pursuing bread and butter, and permanently incapacitated to share the law's benefits, cannot appreciate

the free pursuit of happiness or equality before the law.

Among the rights now denied a large percentage of our children are the right to health, the right to schooling that educates, the right to industrial efficiency, the right to a body capable of enjoying life's battle and efficiency's reward. Children throughout the country, in parochial and private schools and institutions, have the right to be examined at once and told what their physical defects are, if any, and how to correct them. Any child between four and 16 has the right to be found, counted and helped by a school census. Every child has the right to learn that simplified breathing is more necessary than simplified spelling, that nose + adenoids makes backwardness, that decayed teeth $\times 10$ gives mal-nutrition, and that hypertrophied tonsils are infinitely more menacing than hypertrophied playfulness. He has the right to learn that his own mother, in his own home, with the aid of his family physician, can remove his physical defects so that it will be unnecessary for outsiders to give him a palliative free lunch at school, thus neglecting the cause of his defects and those of his brothers and sisters. (See Economic Maxims, S. N. Patten, in *Theory of Prosperity*).

Simplified Breathing results from removing adenoids and enlarged tonsils, which if unremoved,

handicap children in school and in later life. At Rochester, N. Y. (Medical Officer, Dr. Goler), work certificates are withheld until simplified breathing and sound teeth are secured. Country children need attention as well as city children. A large proportion of pupils who block the lower grades are backward because of obstructed breathing, not because of mental deficiency. A Simplified Breathing Board, properly subsidised, would accomplish wonders.

Simplified Spelling of the language in which you and I describe our simple annals has been adjudged an extra-presidential problem. Simplified spelling of national experience is a presidential duty. With few exceptions official truth is now spelled as it does not sound. To simplify it will require far more than 300 petty mutilations, yet will be infinitely easier than to re-make the English language.

Social Bookkeeping: Keeping track of social conditions, as minutes of a board keep track of its duties. As important to statesmen as a ship's log to ship's captain.

Survival of the Fittest: A degenerate phrase. Once meant that low, simple types give way to higher, more complex types. Now means those survive who survive, or whatever is right. Can be restored by efficiency tests to usefulness in the vernacular of government.

Tabulate: To arrange in rows or columns, facts counted regarding the same units of inquiry so that in adding, subtracting, multiplying, dividing or describing they will be kept separate from units of a different kind. Time is saved and efficiency made easy by providing day by day tabulation of bills paid and work done.

Theoretical: Mistakenly used to characterise bad theory. Theory may be good or bad. There is nothing more impractical in the world than the so-called practical man who abhors underlying principles and refuses to study experience. He is constantly making false judgments and blocking progress. The only means of being practical is to be efficiently theoretical.

Unclassified Totals: A grab-bag of figures; a meaningless collection of things different from each other; a mis-statement of fact that confuses writer and reader alike. Total sittings, 531,000; total children, 601,000; deficiency of sittings, 70,000. When 5,000 high school sittings are added, does the deficiency fall to 65,000? The only reason for comparing seats and children is to learn the number of children who have no seats. Sittings on Mars are quite as relevant to the part time evil as unoccupied seats in a high school. Classifying seats by grades led in New York to the consolidation of certain upper grades, thus releasing rooms and buildings for those who overcrowd the lower grades.







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